

Grenada activists slam book ban

BY MERYL LYNN FARBER

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada — At a press conference here March 11, the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement blasted the Grenadian government for its undemocratic barring of participants from an international conference to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Grenada revolution. MBPM leader Terence Marryshow also protested the government's continued ban on books being brought into Grenada.

Chaired by deputy party leader Einstein Louison, the news conference was held several hours prior to the opening of the MBPM-sponsored conference on Saturday evening, March 11.

After a short statement outlining the gains of the March 1979–October 1983 revolution, Marryshow explained the facts about the recent exclusions and book banning. He read from a letter delivered to the MBPM on March 8 by the Grenadian Ministry of External Affairs. The letter said, "With regard to your invitation to foreign guests, Cabinet will not permit the entry of foreigners at this time for the purpose of the commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the Grenada Revolution."

Marryshow reported that Cuban Communist Party representative Omar Cordoba Rivas had been denied a visa. In addition, four participants from the United States were granted only three-day visas, making it impossible for them to attend the 10th anniversary event. The four were Steve Clark, director of Pathfinder Press in New York City; Meryl Lynn Farber; Argiris Malapanis; and August Nimitz.

Marryshow said that despite these exclusions, a substantial number of international guests had arrived and would participate in the gathering.

The March 11–13 conference is a legal political activity organized by the MBPM, a legal political party, Marryshow ex-

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Labor support grows for Eastern strikers

BY SUSAN LaMONT

The strike by 8,500 machinists against Eastern Airline that began March 4 remains solid. Eastern's filing for bankruptcy in federal court in New York March 9 hasn't dampened the strikers' determination, despite the company's aim of demoralizing the unionists and their supporters.

Instead, thousands of strikers and supporters have rallied, marched, and jammed picket lines at airports and other sites in cities from Los Angeles to Boston. Each passing day has brought more support from workers at other airlines, and in other industries.

Almost no International Association of Machinists (IAM) members have crossed the union's picket lines anywhere in the

See editorial on page 14.

country, the union reports. "This is not just a strike, it's for the whole labor movement," explained John Walker, a ramp refueler with 21 years at Eastern who works at New York's LaGuardia Airport.

The pilots at Eastern, members of the Air Line Pilots Association, are supporting the Machinists' action — support that has gotten firmer, despite intense pressure from the company to return to work. Although Eastern says 200 pilots are working, ALPA reports that far fewer have crossed the picket lines. As a result, the company's fleet has remained largely on the ground.

Normally, Eastern would run 1,040 flights per day, carrying about 100,000 passengers. Now the number of daily flights is around 100 — mainly the Washington-New York-Boston shuttle, and several flights to Latin America.

While \$12 fares lured some 8,000 passengers onto the shuttle over the March 11–12 weekend, without more pilots, Eastern will not be able to increase even money-losing flights.

The pilots' union, which is carefully

monitoring Eastern's operations, reported that 99 flights got out March 13.

Flight attendants at Eastern, members of Transport Workers Union Local 553, are also backing the strike and have been out on the picket lines and at other activities in large numbers.

The walkout began at the end of a 30-day "cooling-off" period that followed 16 months of government-sponsored talks with the company. Eastern management, spearheaded by Texas Air Corp. Chairman Frank Lorenzo, is demanding that the IAM-organized mechanics, ramp service workers, stock clerks, and aircraft cleaners agree to the company's right to subcontract work now done by union members, pay cuts as high as 56 percent, substantial work rule changes, cuts in pension benefits, and other concessions totaling \$150 million. The pilots were also in unsuccessful negotiations with Eastern until shortly before the strike began.

Texas Air owns both Eastern and Continental Airlines, where Lorenzo led a successful drive to break the airline unions in 1983–84.

Bankruptcy

With \$3.5 billion in assets, Eastern, the country's seventh-largest airline, is one of the largest companies ever to file for bankruptcy. Faced with losses estimated at \$4 million a day because of the strike, Eastern's owners are hoping that a court-supervised bankruptcy reorganization will put them in a stronger position to resist workers' efforts to defend themselves against the company's antiunion drive.

One of the bankruptcy judge's first moves was to grant Eastern permission to pay nonstriking employees. The judge also allowed payments to foreign creditors to avoid seizure of Eastern's assets in other countries.

Meanwhile, the company is withholding \$9 million in back pay for strikers, along with \$1 million in medical claims, IAM attorneys report. A hearing on this issue is set for March 22.

On March 14 ALPA officials asked the bankruptcy court to appoint a trustee to run the airline. The pilots' move is intended to block the further sale of Eastern assets, which union leaders say has led to Eastern's decline and benefited only parent corporation Texas Air and Continental.

The same day, leaders of the 41,000-member pilots' union voted to increase assessments of members in order to beef up their strike fund and provide more aid for Eastern pilots. They also voted to refuse to fly routes or planes sold by Eastern to other carriers unless there are guarantees that a certain number of Eastern pilots are also hired.

Walking the picket line at LaGuardia March 11, Harry Constantine, a 32-year-old pilot who has flown for Eastern for four years, said that the company's filing for bankruptcy will "have no effect on the strike. The strike will continue."

"Enough is enough," he continued. "It's better to find another job than live under a reign of terror. Pilots have never made a decision like this before — that they'd rather start all over again than continue to work under these conditions." These comments were echoed by many other Eastern machinists, pilots, and flight attendants.

The *New York Times* also reported March 15 that Texas Air Chairman Frank Lorenzo had asked Wall Street investment firm Drexel Burnham Lambert Inc. to look into finding a possible buyer for Eastern.

A preliminary injunction barring railworkers from honoring secondary picket

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Militant/Jon Hillson

Garment worker joins picket line

Grenada rally blasts gov't harassment

BY DOREEN WEPPLER

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada — Some 1,500 people at a March 13 rally here heard Terrence Marryshow, leader of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement, and MBPM President Kendrick Radix denounce stepped-up restrictions on democratic rights by the government of Prime Minister Herbert Blaize. The rally celebrated the 10th anniversary of the Grenada revolution.

Beginning March 10, police set up roadblocks to disrupt activities leading up to an international conference held here March 11–13. The conference was organized by the MBPM.

Many of those who attended a concert the night of March 10 in Grenville, including MBPM deputy leader Einstein Louison, were pulled from cars and searched. This was repeated on a much larger scale March 13, as roadblocks delayed traffic heading toward the rally site.

On March 8 the Blaize government informed the MBPM that none of the international guests that had been invited to the conference would be permitted to enter Grenada to attend.

In addition to barring international guests, police at the airport impounded a box of books belonging to Einstein Louison that included titles by Malcolm X, Maurice Bishop, Nelson Mandela, Fidel Castro, and others. The literature was

brought for delivery to Louison by Steve Clark, director of the Pathfinder publishing house in New York, who was invited to the conference along with three other Pathfinder representatives.

The four were granted only three-day visas, barring their attendance at the March 11–13 activities.

In addition to Clark, the invited guests who were barred included Rosie Douglas, a member of parliament in Dominica from the Dominican Labour Party; Tim Hector, leader of the Antigua Caribbean Liberation Movement; George Odum, leader of the St. Lucia Progressive Labour Party; Don Rojas, former press secretary to the late Grenadian revolutionary leader Maurice Bishop; Caribbean journalist Ricky Singh; and Omar Cordoba Rivas of the Communist Party of Cuba.

The rally honored the March 13, 1979, insurrection that toppled dictator Eric Gairy and established a revolutionary government headed by Maurice Bishop. Bishop was deposed and murdered in October 1983, in a coup organized by a group of army officers and other officials led by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard. The U.S. government seized the opportunity to invade and occupy the Caribbean island country, which led to the establishment of the U.S.-backed Blaize government.

Marryshow denounced the arrival of a

U.S. battleship on the day of the anniversary rally as "a fundamental insult to our people. It is not there with a message of mutual respect and cooperation between our countries. It's there because the U.S. government is afraid of the legacy of our revolution."

Greetings were given to the rally by guests from a number of Caribbean countries. Messages were read from David Abdulah of the Committee of Labour Solidarity in Trinidad and Tobago; Eric McLeod, president of the Oilfield Workers' Trade Union; the National Alliance of Third World Journalists; and Don Rojas.

Mark Severs, a member of the national committee of the Socialist Workers Party of the United States, presented greetings.

The international conference had opened March 11 with some 150 people in attendance. The keynote speaker was Roderick Thurton, a professor at Queens University in New York and coordinator of the Coalition for Caribbean and Central American Unity.

Other speakers included Dr. James Millet, leader of the February 18th Movement in Trinidad and Tobago. The conference heard greetings from the People's Progressive Party of Guyana and the Dominican Labour Party. Severs delivered greetings from the U.S. SWP.

Protests mount against Grenada book ban

BY DON ROJAS

International protests against the seizure of four boxes of Pathfinder books by Grenadian customs officials on March 9, as well as the banning of Pathfinder Director Steve Clark and three other U.S. guests from participating in an international conference, have begun to pour into the Grenadian government.

Groups and prominent personalities in the United States, Canada, Britain, and the Caribbean have sent telegrams, letters, and statements to Prime Minister Herbert Blaize expressing their indignation at this latest attack on democratic rights by the Grenadian government.

Among those protesting were Susan Sontag, president of the PEN American Center, British Member of Parliament Tony Benn, Canadian New Democratic leader Roland Morin, Québec sculptor Armand Vaillancourt, and the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union of Trinidad and Tobago.

Thirty-four representatives of publishers, bookstores, and distributors attending the eighth international bookfair of radical, Black, and Third World books in London signed a petition protesting the book seizure.

The British civil liberties organization Article 19 is also taking up the issue of the banned books and the banning of individuals from entering and staying in Grenada because of their political beliefs.

The Grenadian government's action has also aroused considerable interest in the mass media in the United States and the Caribbean, with several newspapers and radio stations reporting on the incident and conducting interviews with Clark and Prime Minister Blaize.

In an interview with a Barbados newspaper, Blaize said that Clark could reenter Grenada "anytime he wishes," but only as a tourist. A Grenadian government official described the seized literature as "subversive" and said his government had a "sacred duty" to protect Grenadians from "negative ideas."

Clark and Pathfinder staffperson Meryl Farber returned to Grenada on March 16 from Barbados to begin a planned 12-day vacation.

When they arrived at Point Salines Airport with confirmed tickets indicating their departure from Grenada on March 29, the Grenadian immigration officials gave them both three-day visas.

Clark and Farber were told that if they desired extensions on the time granted they would have to apply in person at the passport office in St. George's.

"There were no questions asked, no overt hostility; it was all planned and prepared as if they were expecting us," said Clark. "Contrary to what Blaize said in the interview it appears as if an official decision has been made to bar us from the country."

Clark and Farber intend to apply for the visa extensions.

PEN letter

Writing to Blaize on behalf of the 2,200 writers who are members of the PEN American Center, Sontag said that following a similar seizure last October, the latest banning "raises serious questions about Grenada's commitment to freedom of expression guarantees contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

"The right to transmit information and ideas across national borders is an essential element of freedom of expression which is clearly protected by international law. We seek an immediate reversal of your government's March 9 action and a clear state-

ment of policy that no such seizure will take place in the future," concluded the PEN letter.

In response to the banning, Labour MP Tony Benn said in London on March 10: "The repression in Grenada continues to deepen. First the U.S. invasion. Then the puppet government. Next, the show trials. After that the banning of books. The Grenadian government stands condemned in the eyes of the world for its attempt to obliterate the progressive ideas and the memory of the revolution."

Participants at the London bookfair considered the holding of lists of "banned" or "restricted" books a gross violation of democratic rights. "The Grenadian people should have free access to whatever literature they choose to read," they said.

In the final declaration of the international conference held in Grenada March 11-13 to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the Grenada revolution, participants expressed their outrage at the banning of the Pathfinder books and of the entry of vari-

ous political activists.

"The prohibition of selected regional and international progressive personalities clearly suggest the obsession of this regime with isolating the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement from associating with other progressive forces in the region and internationally."

"The arbitrary banning and seizure of books, including the selected speeches of Maurice Bishop and Nelson Mandela, among others, strikes a blow against the enjoyment of the basic democratic right of access to information and to the free flow of ideas among the people," said the declaration.

Protest messages are needed to demand that the Grenadian government rescind its ban on the freedom to bring into Grenada and circulate books and periodicals and to attend political conferences.

Messages can be sent to Prime Minister Herbert Blaize, Police Commissioner Cosmos Raymond, and the U.S. embassy, all in St. George's, Grenada.

Omaha campaign office vandalized

BY DIANE SHUR

OMAHA, Neb. — When supporters arrived at the office of the Socialist Workers Party election campaign here March 12, they found that the windows of the storefront office had been shattered. Cement bricks had been hurled through two large plate-glass windows.

Four hours later, a news conference was held to protest the vandalism. "We hold Mayor Walter Calinger responsible for ensuring the safety of all citizens to engage in political activity free of harassment," stated Chris Hoepfner, the SWP candidate for city council from District 3. "We demand the full investigation, arrest, and prosecution of those responsible for this violence."

"Attacks like this will not prevent Joe Swanson or myself or our supporters from speaking out in the interests of working people," Hoepfner said. Swanson is the SWP candidate for mayor. The primary election is scheduled for April 4.

Anna Schell, manager of the Pathfinder bookstore, which is located in the same place, chaired the news conference. "Our bookstore will not close down because of this attack," she said.

"This is a very basic issue — free speech," said Ken Anderson of the Omaha Central America Response Team. "If you buckle under to this kind of thing, you lose that right. The only way to end intimidation is to do what you are doing. I applaud you."

"I wish the best for this bookstore," declared Rowena Moore, founder and president of the Malcolm X Memorial Foundation. "I feel part of a bookstore that carries so much of Malcolm X's work. When I got a call telling me what happened here, I felt

the way you do when you learn someone died.

"So," she continued, "I came to this press conference the way you go to offer condolences. But I guess condolences are not really in order because you are organizing a response and going on with your work."

Subscription renewal drive scored important gains

BY FRED FELDMAN

The four-week campaign to convince subscribers to renew their subscriptions to the *Militant*, the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the French-language monthly *Lutte ouvrière* concluded March 11.

A total of 380 subscription renewals were obtained in the effort, which opened February 11 — 309 to the *Militant*, 46 to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and 25 to *Lutte ouvrière*.

During the campaign, an average of 77 *Militant* renewals and 12 *Perspectiva Mundial* renewals were obtained per week. By contrast, during the first five weeks of the year, an average of 51 *Militant* renewals and four *Perspectiva Mundial* renewals came in weekly.

Two cities in Canada — Toronto and Montréal — led in obtaining renewals. There were 74 from Toronto and 51 from Montréal. In addition, 5 subscriptions were obtained in Vancouver, for a total of 130 subscription renewals from Canada.

During the weeks of the renewal cam-

Hoepfner announced plans for a rally at the bookstore at 140 S. 40th St., on Saturday, March 18, at 4:00 p.m. The gathering will protest the vandalism and raise funds to pay the cost of the damage. The news conference was covered that evening on Channel 6 television news and in the *Omaha World Herald*.

paign, new subscribers were also won at an impressive clip. There were 480 new subscriptions to the *Militant* and 118 to *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The success of the renewal effort has generated momentum for the opening of an eight-week drive to win new readers for five socialist publications beginning March 25. The campaign, which will conclude May 20, is aimed at winning subscribers to the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *Lutte ouvrière*, and selling copies of the Marxist journals *New International* and the French-language *Nouvelle Internationale*.

In addition, distributors of the socialist publications will be introducing those we meet to the Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis, put forward by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party. The Pathfinder pamphlet with the Action Program will be reissued with a new introduction in April.

The next issue of the *Militant* will list the goals for the circulation campaign that have been adopted by distributors in cities in seven countries.

'Militant' Prisoner Fund

The *Militant's* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who need help paying for the paper. Please send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

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Coeditors: MARGARET JAYKO and DOUG JENNESS

Circulation Director: NORTON SANDLER

Nicaragua Bureau Director: LARRY SEIGLE

Business Manager: JIM WHITE

Editorial Staff: Susan Apstein, Fred Feldman, Seth Galinsky (Nicaragua), Arthur Hughes, Cindy Jaquith, Susan LaMont, Sam Manuel, Harry Ring, Judy White (Nicaragua).

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U.S. government's 10-year war to crush El Salvador revolt

BY FRED FELDMAN

The proposals by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front to halt the fighting in El Salvador and establish democratic procedures for the elections come in the context of a decade-long civil war. More than 70,000 Salvadorans have been killed during the U.S.-organized campaign aimed at stamping out a deeply rooted revolt.

El Salvador is a Central American country of 5 million people. The official figures on per capita income — \$820 per year — conceal a gigantic gulf between the impoverished working people and a tiny oligarchy of capitalists and landlords that, together with U.S. corporations and banks, dominate the economy.

The wealth of the oligarchy, known as the "14 families," is based primarily on ownership of coffee and sugar plantations, and on the export of these crops. In 1980 2 percent of the population controlled 60 percent of the land. (Half-hearted land reform efforts by the U.S.-backed government have not substantially altered this oppressive social structure.) About half of the infants born in El Salvador died before their first birthday. At least 74 percent of the children under five years of age showed signs of malnutrition. Illiteracy ran to 40 percent in the cities, and 60 percent of the countryside.

Revolutionary upsurge

Growing popular unrest and discontent exploded into mass protests after the victory of the July 1979 insurrection in neighboring Nicaragua that toppled the Somoza dictatorship.

In October of that year, Salvadoran military dictator Carlos Romero was toppled by a military coup. The new regime was backed by forces that included military officers, the Christian Democratic Party, and the Communist Party.

But as the regime continued to meet massive protests with bloody repression, many of those who supported it — including the Communist Party and wings of the Christian Democratic Party — withdrew their backing.

In the countryside, guerrilla groups based on the peasantry gained ground. They also gained wider support in urban areas.

Early in 1980, Christian Democratic Party head José Napoleón Duarte joined the regime, becoming its figurehead. A state of siege was imposed, barring strikes and demonstrations.

While repression was being unleashed against the workers and farmers, the government promised to implement modest social reforms, including the distribution of land to peasants. Some land was parceled out, but the agrarian reform also provided cover for stepped-up repression against local peasant leaders.

The U.S. government, then headed by President James Carter, responded to the growing mass upsurge by voicing strong support for the junta. Congress voted \$5.7 million in military aid in 1980, and U.S. military advisers were sent to organize the counterinsurgency war.

"The United States could never permit another Nicaragua, even if preventing it meant employing the most reprehensible methods," declared Carter administration aide Zbigniew Brzezinski.

The class confrontation reached a high

First-hand coverage of Salvador election

Next week's *Militant* will include a first-hand report on the March 19 election in El Salvador by correspondents Cindy Jaquith and Seth Galinsky. In future issues they

Coming in our next issue

will provide coverage of the worsening economic and social crisis, the struggles of workers and peasants, and the discussion inspired by peace proposals of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front.

point in 1980. On January 22 more than 300,000 people marched to protest repression and support demands for social change. The action, called by the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses, was one of the biggest in El Salvador's history. More than 200 protesters were reported killed by government forces.

Throughout the country, death squads linked to the military and the wealthy landlords increased their assassinations. These eventually numbered hundreds of people per month.

On March 17 a general strike shut down San Salvador. From 50 to as many as 150 participants were killed.

Those protesting the repression included Roman Catholic Archbishop Oscar Romero. On March 24 he called on government soldiers to refuse to carry out repressive orders. A rightist gunman assassinated him the next day, while Romero was saying mass.

Government troops killed 40 people in an attack on the funeral procession of 80,000 honoring Romero.

In mid-August the country was gripped by a general strike against the regime. Neighborhoods in San Salvador were held by insurgents for several days, and armed clashes occurred across the country.

In the wake of this upsurge five organizations engaged in guerrilla war against the regime formed a bloc — the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). Earlier, a wide range of opposition groups, including unions and peasant organizations, had formed the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), which now collaborated with the FMLN.

At the beginning of 1981, in the midst of this wave of strikes and mass mobilizations, the FMLN announced preparations for what it called the "final offensive" against the regime. The guerrillas and their supporters carried out a powerful military drive. But a planned general strike was only partially successful, the government forces were not sharply divided, and the offensive was pushed back.

The regime's bloody repression over the previous year had dealt a severe blow to the mass movement. Many working-class and peasant fighters and leaders had been massacred. Trade unions and other mass organizations were being driven underground.

Over the next several years, the regime — backed by massive U.S. military aid — succeeded in heading off defeat and gaining some ground. The war was largely run by a contingent of U.S. military advisers. Washington admits to having 100 military personnel in El Salvador, and 100 civilian



Mourners carry coffin of 1988 victim of death squads

officials of the Agency for International Development.

In March 1982 the government staged elections to the National Assembly. Parties that stood to the right of Duarte's Christian Democrats won a majority, and replaced Duarte as head of government.

The FMLN boycotted this and subsequent military-controlled elections.

The land reform and other measures that Duarte had promised were largely halted.

This government attracted little international recognition and support. More importantly, it proved unable to decisively defeat the guerrillas. U.S. military aid rose from nearly \$6 million in 1980 to \$136 million in 1984.

In presidential elections held in 1984, Duarte won with strong support from Washington. Initially, Duarte had considerable backing inside El Salvador. Many working people gave some credence to his talk of reform and peace.

Since then, the U.S. Congress has delivered \$3.5 billion in military and economic aid. The U.S. government finances about half the Salvadoran regime's budget.

In response to demands by the FMLN for a dialogue on ending the war, Duarte held a meeting with FMLN leaders at La Palma. But Duarte soon torpedoed these discussions, and continued to escalate the war further.

U.S.-supplied planes poured bombs over guerrilla-controlled areas, with a view to terrorizing peasants and forcing them to flee to government-controlled zones or out of the country.

The Duarte government failed to win a

decisive victory, and has faced growing opposition from both the far right on one hand, and the workers, peasants, and small businesspeople on the other.

Despite the repression, union and other political activity began to revive in El Salvador after 1984 — placing the regime under more pressure. The guerrillas continue to show strength in many parts of the countryside, and retain significant support in the cities as well.

Nor has the regime succeeded in overcoming the economic and social crisis that grips the country.

Living conditions have worsened, with half the work force wholly or partially unemployed. Rates of infant mortality have worsened, and other aspects of medical care have deteriorated.

The population has become increasingly war weary as the fighting continues to take its toll. Untold numbers have been jailed, tortured, or maimed by the regime, in addition to the 70,000 killed. An estimated one-third of the population has been displaced by the war — many being forced into exile.

Death squad killings, Salvadoran church agencies report, are again on the rise — up 135 percent over last year. The U.S. CIA has provided training and intelligence to security forces directly involved in death squad activities.

Political assassinations by the army have risen 28 percent. To date, no army officer has been tried or convicted of any atrocities against civilians, even though the identities of many killers are well known. Eight soldiers have been convicted — six for killings of U.S. citizens.

Democratic rights debated at Rushdie forum

BY FRED FELDMAN

NEW YORK — A panel of speakers here voiced a spectrum of opinions March 12 on the controversy aroused by demands that the novel *The Satanic Verses* be banned, and by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's threats against author Salman Rushdie.

About 75 people participated in the gathering, sponsored by the New York Marxist School under the title, "The Rushdie Affair: Views from the Left."

The panel consisted of Charles Yerkes, minister of a local Presbyterian church; Ellen Willis, senior editor of the New York weekly *Village Voice*; Joyce Chediak, managing editor of *Workers World*, a radical weekly; Sheila Ryan, staffperson of the Middle East Peace Network; Margaret Jayko, editor of the *Militant* and representative of the Socialist Workers Party; Magda Bogin, a novelist, translator and member of PEN, an international organization of writers; and M. Asha Sameid Matías, who reported to the gathering on an Islamic conference on Rushdie's book held the previous day at Columbia University.

The discussion revealed a range of views on censorship and free speech; the right to

artistic expression; and on whether demands for democratic rights are merely "Western" and "imperialist," or rather an essential element in the fight against imperialism.

Chediak of *Workers World* argued that the central issues were the danger of a new imperialist attack on Iran and a huge wave of racism set off in the United States by the controversy.

'Nothing to do with free speech'

"Imperialism is using the Rushdie affair for its own purposes," she said. "It has nothing to do with free speech." Some groups such as PEN that have called for defending Rushdie, she suggested, "mean very well, but act as errand-runners for imperialism."

Citing U.S. constitutional rights in defense of Rushdie, she said, is "racist and chauvinist." Democratic rights were not at issue, she argued, because the U.S. and other imperialist governments have long records of violating these rights. Nor should all censorship be opposed, she said.

"Racists of the Nazi stripe have no right to free speech. Racist propaganda incites racism," she explained. "Pornography in-

cites violence against women and should be banned."

Chediak backed Rushdie's right to express his views, but charged that the book "deals with Islam in an insensitive and derogatory manner." What is needed, she argued, is literature that will provide the oppressed with "a clear and unambiguous message. *The Satanic Verses* is not an instrument for freeing the masses."

Support to antiblasphemy laws

Sameid Matías summarized a variety of views that she said were voiced at the Islamic conference she attended. Virtually all, she stressed, held that murdering Rushdie "would not advance in any way" unity among oppressed peoples. Some backed moves to extend blasphemy laws in Britain to include Judaism and Islam, or indicated support for broadening libel and slander laws to bar offenses against Islam or Muslims.

The Satanic Verses is "social dynamite," she warned, "like crying fire in a crowded theater."

"No book since *Mein Kampf* has been so

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'Playing same role in prison as he did at Swift'

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who is serving 25 years in jail on frame-up charges of rape and burglary. The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is leading an international political campaign to fight for justice for Curtis. To contact the committee, write Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Telephone (515) 246-1695.

"The goal of this frame-up was to silence and intimidate us. They convicted Mark Curtis, but they failed to demoralize or isolate him

Pointing to her Mark Curtis button, Nadine Riley, Oregon President of Church Women United, said she supports Curtis because she believes the button's message, "An injury to one is an injury to all."

Riley had just returned from the Philippines and said that she learned the "real meaning of solidarity" there — "when someone comes to you, asks for help, and you respond."

Defense committee endorser Lorene Scheer, organizer for the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU),

other Yakima Indian leaders who were framed up in a federal government sting operation.

Kaku also spoke at a meeting of the ACTWU Pacific Northwest Joint Board and received a warm reception.

Her tour helped raise more than \$2,000 for the defense committee. The 20 new endorsers in the Portland area include: Arthur Shelley, delegate to the ACTWU Joint Board; Peggy Norman, Northwest regional Co-director of the National Organization for Women; and Adam Messinger, vice-president of the Reed College Student Body.

DEFEND MARK CURTIS!

and his supporters," Kate Kaku explained during a talk at the Peace House while she was on tour in Portland, Oregon, February 23-25.

Kaku is a leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and the wife of Curtis. More than 60 people came to the meeting.

"Prisoners seek out discussions with Mark and ask for advice, just like his coworkers used to do at Swift meat-packing. He is playing the same role in prison that he did while working at Swift."

Curtis has become secretary of the Martin Luther King Club at the state prison in Anamosa, Iowa, she said.

Desmond Smit, who is in exile from South Africa, chaired the Portland meeting. He is a member of the African National Congress, United Democratic Front, and co-founder of the End Conscription Campaign. After meeting Kaku, he said, "I know that chairing tonight's event is the greatest honor I've been given since coming to the United States."

sent a message to the meeting. Adrienne Weller of the Freedom Socialist Party expressed her support for the Curtis fight and explained the latest developments in the FSP's own case against government harassment.

"General Strike," a musical group of labor activists, led the audience in singing political protest songs.

Kaku participated in a panel discussion at Reed College, sponsored by Students in Solidarity with the Peoples of the Americas, on February 23. Seventy-five people attended the discussion, which drew together representatives from four defense campaigns including the Curtis committee.

• Leonard Peltier, a U.S. Indian who was framed up on charges of killing two FBI agents. He is serving two life sentences.

• Santiago Ventura, a Mixtec Indian and farm worker from Mexico who was framed up for murder in 1986. He is serving a life sentence.

• David Sohapp, Sr., and four

Kaku spoke to 29 students at a meeting of Students Against Oppression, at Garfield High School in Seattle, on February 27. The participants were surprised and outraged that a court could prevent evidence from being presented, as was done in Curtis' trial, and that a political activist could be framed up in Des Moines, Iowa.

The club decided to meet again that Friday to see a video of portions of Curtis' September 1988 trial. Sixteen people attended that meeting, and four students endorsed the committee.

Kaku spoke at a local defense rally on February 26. José Cervantes, a prominent community activist, chaired the meeting. He decried the "infamy" perpetrated against Curtis "because of his attempt to unite packinghouse workers and immigrant workers."

Kurt Meyer brought greetings from Students Against Apartheid at the University of Washington. The group had voted to endorse the defense committee at its last meeting.



Militant

Mark Curtis Defense Committee leader Kate Kaku

Nate Ford, president of the Metal Trades Council, urged those in attendance to be "as generous as possible with your time, your ideas, and your money." More than \$3,200 was raised at the rally.

Also speaking were Manuel Rodriguez from the Central American Refugee Committee; and Muffy Sunde from the Freedom Socialist Party and Radical Women.

Tomás Villanueva, president of the United Farm Workers of

Washington State, attorney Daniel Smith, and Tony Harrah, a leader of the Labor Committee on Central America, sent messages.

Kaku also stopped in Vancouver, British Columbia, and spoke at a meeting in a community center on March 2.

Janet Post from Portland and Sara Gates from Seattle contributed to this column.

Curtis defense meeting marks first year of fight

BY PAT GROGAN

DES MOINES, Iowa — "It was one year ago today — March 4, 1988 — that Mark Curtis was beaten and framed up by the Des Moines police," Hazel Zimmerman, a leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, told a meeting here.

"We're not here to commemorate that event, we're here to celebrate one year of a fight. We're here to celebrate the progress we made in beating down injustice," she continued. The job, at hand, she said, is to step up the international campaign to put world public opinion on the side of justice, to defeat the frame-up, to free Curtis, and to vindicate his name.

Some 150 people participated in the rally from 16 cities across the Midwest, as well as Georgia, Alabama, and Utah. Participants also came from Britain and Canada.

In a videotaped message from Anamosa State Prison, Curtis told the rally, "Even though I'm here, I'm not out of the fight. And it's not just a fight to get me out of prison. It's a fight for justice everywhere." Curtis is serving a 25-year sentence.

His message was an excerpt from a video being made by Hollywood director Nick Castle, Jr., whose recent film *Tap* is playing at theaters across the country.

Curtis described his life in prison: his job making license plates, his efforts to improve his Spanish, reading and studying politics, and involvement in political activities with other prisoners.

Curtis appealed for support for another victim of injustice he met in prison. John Knox, a Black man, was convicted of raping and murdering a white woman, despite significant questions about the evidence at

the scene of the crime and irregularities in the jury's composition.

'I have no doubts'

Prior to the rally, a reporter asked Castle why he was involved in the Curtis defense effort. A political activist for many years, Castle said he knew Curtis' party, the Socialist Workers Party. "So naturally, when I heard about one of them getting beaten up and framed, I wanted to take a closer look," Castle said. "I have no doubts at all about what I'm doing."

"Curtis is a serious political activist," he pointed out. "And no one, including the prosecution, could come up with anything in his character that could explain why he would do such a thing, especially right in the middle of the real fight he was involved in at the Swift plant. If I came up with a script like the prosecution is painting, I'd get fired, even in Hollywood."

This fight should be especially important to filmmakers and other writers and artists, Castle told the rally. "Not too long ago, the 'Hollywood 10' went to jail for what they believed in. We can't allow any steps backward on democratic rights. We can't allow any steps that could make it easier for new witch-hunts, for new blacklists."

Joan Levitt, a coal miner from Birmingham, Alabama, read a statement from Sammie Roberts, Alabama state president of the National Organization for Women. The state board is an endorser of the committee.

"Mark's conviction, despite the lack of evidence, demonstrates the Gestapo methods used in too many police departments and courts in our nation," Roberts wrote. "That a man who has consistently fought for justice for others has been railroaded into prison is outrageous. It is equally outrageous that the opposition would use a 15-year-old alleged rape victim."

Chris Nisan, director of the Africana Student Cultural Center at the University of

Minnesota, told the rally, "All of us have the potential to be Mark Curtis. We must use the Curtis case to defend ourselves."

"In Britain we have watched the almost routine beatings and show trials of Irish people," reported Rob Jones, member of the Transport and General Workers Union, the largest union in Britain. "We have seen the brutalizing of Blacks by the British bobby. . . . We have seen their cops riot against striking miners. . . . We can understand Mark's experience because it's not so different from our experiences in Britain."

Speaking on behalf of the SWP, Nan Bailey, the party's candidate for Des Moines City Council, said, "Our party has organized ourselves to be the most effective we can in the defense effort as we continue the political work Mark is dedicated to."

Defense committee coordinator Stu Singer announced that Curtis is proceeding with his appeal of the verdict, and that attorney George Eichorn will file a civil suit against the cops for their beating and harassment of Curtis.

Meeting participants pledged \$2,828 to the defense effort.

Other speakers included Kate Kaku, a leader of the defense committee and Curtis' wife; Julia Terrell, defense committee treasurer; and Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born political activist who recently won his long fight for permanent residence.

Statements were received from the Midwest region of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; John "Skinny" Weiss, trusted executive board member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9, Austin, Minnesota; Gérard Jean-Juste, Veye-Yo, a Haitian organization in Miami and Jock Barnes, longtime labor activist in New Zealand.

The next morning, defense committee leaders Zimmerman and John Gaige led a workshop attended by 75 people to discuss the international endorser drive.

How you can help

• **New Spanish-language literature available.** The Mark Curtis Defense Committee has translated its response to the letter signed by Keith Morris, slandering Curtis and the defense committee and asking people to withdraw their support. Morris is the father of the woman Curtis is falsely accused of raping.

In addition, the defense motion for a new trial, which summarizes some of the irregularities in Curtis' September 1988 trial, is available in Spanish from the defense committee.

• **Win sponsors for the defense committee.** To date, more than 2,500 people and organizations from around the world have signed cards adding their names as committee endorsers. Sponsor cards are available from the defense committee, along with buttons and a variety of literature.

• **Raise money.** The defense committee needs to raise \$60,000 to cover legal and publicity expenses. Contributions should be sent to the committee. (Checks for large tax-deductible contributions may be made out to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Inc.)

• **Write to Mark Curtis.** He is incarcerated in the Iowa State Men's Reformatory in Anamosa, Iowa. He can receive letters, cards, and photos only, not packages of any sort or money. Address letters to: Mark S. Curtis, No. 805338A, Box B, Anamosa, Iowa 52205. The defense committee would like to receive copies of the correspondence.

Contact the Mark Curtis Defense Committee at Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Telephone (515) 246-1695.

The legless veteran who won battle with gov't witch-hunters

BY MARGARET JAYKO

In the first chapter of his book *The Case of the Legless Veteran*, James Kutcher wrote, "In most respects, I am an ordinary man. I have no special talents. I never showed any capacity for leadership. . . . And yet I have become a public figure of a sort. A thousand separate items about me have appeared in large newspapers and small mimeographed bulletins from New York to California. . . . This change was not sought by me; it happened almost independently of my will."

Kutcher's characterization of himself is a bit modest. He was one of the few victims of the anticommunist witch-hunt of the late 1940s and '50s who led a successful fight against denying jobs and rights to those deemed "disloyal" to the U.S. government.

The story of how that effort was organized, which is recounted in Kutcher's book, offers valuable lessons for everyone involved in defending victims of capitalist "justice" today.

Through establishing a nonpartisan, broad-based Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, eight national, nine state, and hundreds of local union bodies aided Kutcher's fight. Other World War II veterans, church figures, artists, journalists, professors, and fellow victims of government repression also joined in.

Kutcher, who died last month at the age of 76, "was a modest man, but also a scrapper," Joseph Rauh told the *Newark Star-Ledger*, which ran an article on Kutcher in its Feb. 11, 1989, issue. Rauh was an outstanding labor and civil liberties lawyer who worked on Kutcher's case.

Kutcher was a native of Newark, New Jersey. He was fired in 1948 from his job as a file clerk in the Veterans Administration because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party. This was "one of the worst travesties of justice during the whole McCarthy era," said Rauh.

Three catastrophes

"My life has been shaped by three catastrophes," wrote Kutcher, "the depression, the war, and the cold war."

Kutcher, who became a socialist and a founding member of the SWP during the Great Depression of the 1930s, was drafted into the army in 1941, during World War II.

In November 1943 he was hit by a mortar shell during the fighting in Italy. Both of his legs were amputated. In August 1946, after a lengthy recovery, including being fitted with artificial legs, Kutcher

landed a job with the Veterans Administration in Newark.

Two years later the VA manager in Newark informed Kutcher he was scheduled to be fired in 30 days for "disloyalty" to the government of the United States. The evidence? Kutcher's membership in the SWP, which had been included on the 1947 Attorney General's list of "subversive" organizations. This was part of the loyalty program for all government employees, set up by President Harry Truman's executive order.

Defense committee formed

SWP leader George Novack worked with Kutcher on the defense effort. At that time, Novack already had under his belt some 25 years of experience in many prominent defense campaigns. In his book, Kutcher quoted Novack's explanation of what would be entailed in a fight to regain his job:

"We will have to set up a committee to handle your defense. If you have no objection, we will call it something like the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, a name that clearly indicates its objectives. You understand of course that this will not be a political organization; we will try to enlist the support of people of all political convictions, and most of those who will join will not share your political views. Since it will be a legal contest, among other things, we will have to get some lawyers too."

"Through the committee we will appeal to every organization we can reach in this country. . . ."

The committee's first press conference was a huge success. It included Carl Holderman, president of the New Jersey CIO Council. (This was before the merger of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations formed the AFL-CIO.) Holderman did more than any other labor official to get union backing for Kutcher's fight.

The New Jersey labor official explained to reporters that he did not agree with the views of Kutcher's party. "But I do agree that there is a great danger to democratic rights involved in the prosecution of individuals who hold such views," he continued. "Regardless of politics, our state CIO and I as its president will give full support to James Kutcher and to the rescinding of the executive order."

Other speakers at the news conference were the CIO regional director in New Jersey, the New Jersey CIO secretary-treasurer, and the chaplain of the Newark-area chapter of the American Veterans Committee, to which Kutcher belonged.

It was initially easier to get organizations



Militant James Kutcher (with canes); George Novack (second from right), who played prominent role in campaign to regain Kutcher's job; and New Jersey union officials who supported fight.

to endorse the fight than to get individuals to join the committee. "And yet without an imposing committee of public figures the work of approaching organizations for help would remain strictly limited," wrote Kutcher.

Bringing the facts to the public

Eventually, after much persistent political work, a large committee of some of the most prestigious labor, liberal, religious, and educational figures in the country was assembled. Among these were John Dewey, philosopher and educator; John Sloan, artist; Warren Billings, codefendant with Tom Mooney in the famous California frame-up case; Irving Abramson, CIO eastern regional director; journalist I.F. Stone; Algernon Black, Society for Ethical Culture; and Jonah Caplan, rabbi of Congregation Beth-El in Long Island City, New York. Included as well were Thomas Emerson, Yale Law School; novelist Norman Mailer; author C. Wright Mills; Max Shachtman, national chairman, Independent Socialist League; Mark Starr, educational director, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, AFL; and A.L. Wirin, civil liberties attorney.

While systematically pursuing all the administrative and legal channels open to him to fight for reinstatement, Kutcher and the defense committee focused the majority of their efforts on "bringing the facts and issues involved in the case to the widest circles of the American people. . . ."

"Newspaper publicity, press conferences, publication and distribution of literature, interviews over the radio — we looked for and grabbed every opportunity to reach the public ear with the facts," wrote Kutcher.

As he continued to be dealt setbacks at the various levels of the government bureaucracy, taking steps that had to be exhausted before he could take his case to court, the illusion of many supporters that

his firing was a "hysterical excess" that would be easily remedied was destroyed. And new avenues of support kept opening up, especially in the labor movement. Although saddled with a class-collaborationist bureaucracy, still there was a living memory within the labor movement of the militant struggles that built the industrial unions and forged the CIO.

Role of Communist Party

In *The Case of the Legless Veteran*, Kutcher included a chapter describing the Communist Party's slander of the defense effort and its refusal to back it. This is also important education for opponents of frame-ups today. For his part, Kutcher made it a principle that in every talk he gave on his case, no matter who the audience, he included the fact that he was for defense of all victims of the witch-hunt, including members of the Communist Party.

Some people in the labor movement argued with Kutcher that such a declaration hurt his own chances of winning support among those who were foes of the Stalinists. But Kutcher stressed that denial of rights to any section of the labor movement was a blow to the rights of all.

On April 20, 1956, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia ruled in Kutcher's favor, restoring his job. After another two-year battle, a U.S. court ordered the government to give Kutcher a small proportion of his back pay. Kutcher had also, in the process, defeated government efforts to deprive him of his disability pension and evict him and his parents from a public housing project.

After the money was actually paid, the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee disbanded on Oct. 24, 1958.

Kutcher continued to be an active member of the SWP. He left the party in 1983 and became part of the Fourth Internationalist Tendency.

Pathfinder

The Case of the Legless Veteran James Kutcher



The story of a man who fought and defeated the witch-hunters during the Joe McCarthy era.

The Case of the Legless Veteran
by James Kutcher. 255 pp., \$8.95

Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12 or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$1 for postage.

New bookstore in Brooklyn gets warm welcome

BY MERYL LYNN FARBER

BROOKLYN — "We salute Pathfinder Press" on the opening of their new bookstore "and welcome them to Brooklyn," said George Ives, member of the staff of *Haiti Progrès*, a Haitian weekly with wide circulation in Brooklyn and in Haiti. Ives presented one of several statements to the opening celebration of the Pathfinder Bookstore held here March 4.

Before a standing-room-only crowd of 85 people, Ives continued, "here in Brooklyn, you will find the greatest concentration of Haitians in North America. The number, by some estimates, exceeds 500,000. The presence of a Pathfinder Bookstore in our midst therefore promises a great deal."

Don Rojas, former press secretary to the late Maurice Bishop, prime minister of the revolutionary government in Grenada from 1979-83, also saluted Pathfinder. "Pathfinder feels the ideas of Marx, Lenin, Che Guevara, and Nelson Mandela, among others, must be published as they spoke them and wrote them," Rojas said, "not as they are interpreted by others. In this, Pathfinder is unique," he declared.

Rojas also described his experience edit-

ing the Pathfinder title *One People, One Destiny*, speeches and resolutions of the Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America. Rojas participated in a Pathfinder-sponsored tour of the Caribbean last fall to promote the book.

Steve Clark, director of Pathfinder, detailed the debate taking place on a world scale over the future prospects for socialism and communism versus capitalism. Clark described the human misery caused by the deepening crisis of capitalism. "Workers will more and more look for solutions to the devastation" he said, "and this is where the importance of this bookstore comes in."

"Workers need answers and access to the truth," Clark stressed. "This is what Pathfinder bookstores seek to provide."

The Pathfinder director announced several new books the New York-based publisher is bringing out, including *In Defense of Socialism*, containing four recent speeches by Cuban President Fidel Castro.

When three airline workers on strike against Eastern Airlines were introduced, the audience gave them an enthusiastic standing ovation. They came to the meet-

ing from the picket line at LaGuardia Airport, and Ernie Mailhot from the strike committee urged everyone to support the strike and participate in the picketing.

Also speaking at the celebration were Professor Fred Dube, a longtime member of the African National Congress, and Tricia Feely, a member of Communications Workers of America Local 1105 at Planned Parenthood's Margaret Sanger Clinic in Manhattan. Dube is waging a free speech fight to win his teaching job back at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. Feely outlined plans for a march on Washington April 9 called by the National Organization for Women to defend abortion rights.

Messages were sent to the opening by David Ortiz of the Socialist Bloc in the United States and Safiya Bandle of the Medgar Evers College Center for Women's Development.

During the day, some 50 people from Brooklyn dropped into the bookstore to browse, purchase books, have political discussions, and watch Malcolm X videos. Some \$200 in literature was sold, and \$300 was contributed at the evening program toward completion of the bookstore.

Social democracy has no solution for debt crisis

BY DON ROJAS

A friend of mine from Jamaica who teaches political science at the City University of New York said recently that the main difference between "democratic" socialism and social democracy is that in the former, capital is a guest in the house of the people whereas in the latter, the people are a guest in the house of capital.

My purpose in this column is not to argue whether there is a distinction between these two ideological



CARIB NOTES

Don Rojas

categories since both have been used interchangeably so often.

Polemics aside for the moment, the historical record indicates that recent election victories in Venezuela and Jamaica saw the return to office of Carlos Andrés Pérez and Michael Manley, the two most prominent social democrats in the Americas, who at one point in the past labeled themselves "democratic" socialists.

My friend's interesting formulation came to mind this past week in the wake of the popular protests in Venezuela and Trinidad and prompted reflection on the political lessons arising from the recent events in both countries.

As badly treated guests in finance capital's house, the working people of Venezuela, now being governed by social democracy, were not exactly singing the virtues of capitalism as they took to the streets of Caracas and other cities.

Workers, farmers, women, and youth — defending their right to a decent and dignified life and giving vent to their pent-up anger — were gunned down like dogs in the streets and working-class neighborhoods by the rampag-

ing Venezuelan police and army. The final death toll may reach more than 1,000, and thousands more were wounded. Student and trade union leaders were detained and tortured, and up to now many are unaccounted for.

Pérez ordered his armed forces to "restrain" protesters with the "full weight" of martial law. In the midst of this crisis the "humane" and "liberal" masks of social democracy were ripped aside to reveal an ugly, repressive face.

While on the one hand he was lambasting the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as "a conspiracy against the Third World," on the other hand, Pérez, goaded by his team of conservative technocrats, was lecturing his fellow Venezuelans to accept the IMF terms and conditions because "there was no other choice."

But is there really no alternative? Are the fates and destinies of millions of people in Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia to be determined by a handful of billionaire bankers whose decisions are carried out by a few hundred technocrats who sit at desks in IMF headquarters in Washington pushing papers and manipulating statistics?

Faced with tough policy decisions, Venezuelan social democrats capitulated to imperialist demands and in the process betrayed the hopes of millions of working people who had swept them to victory last December.

Does a similar scenario lie ahead for the working people of Jamaica who gave Manley a resounding election victory last month? To be sure, he inherited an economic mess from former right-wing prime minister Edward Seaga, caused principally by IMF-dictated policies. Not the least of Manley's worries is a \$4 billion foreign debt, the highest per capita in Latin America and the Caribbean.

There is speculation that among the conditions of the coming IMF-conditionality test for Jamaica is a further devaluation of the Jamaican dollar.

Will Manley, like his friend Pérez, call on the Jamaican people to bite the bullet and accept further "unavoidable" IMF and World Bank demands?

His attitude toward the fund and the big bankers has been much more cordial and conciliatory under today's

conditions now that he is a social democrat than in the 1970s when he was a "democratic" socialist.

Following the revolt in Venezuela, the working people of Trinidad and Tobago delivered a similar message to the IMF and the government of Prime Minister A.N.R. Robinson in a "day of national resistance."

Robinson once described himself as a social democrat. Today, he says he is a politician who shuns labels and is more comfortable with the description "pragmatic."

His "pragmatism" has steered him into the suffocating embrace of the IMF, brought his country to the brink of economic disaster, and shattered the hopes and expectations of thousands who voted him and his National Alliance for Reconstruction into power in December 1986.

Freed from the IMF dictatorship by consistent and principled anti-imperialist policies, the socialist model of economic growth and development, as exemplified by the Cuban revolution, is becoming more of a viable alternative for Latin American and Caribbean countries now being strangled by the deepening crisis of capitalism.

This model ought to be carefully studied, not with the objective of duplicating it without modification to the specificities of each country, but in terms of its broad principles and approaches and the political leadership that guides it.

In the final analysis, only a revolutionary democratic and scientific socialist road to socioeconomic development can seriously address the major challenges facing the region's economies and bring working people to power.

Restructuring national economies in accordance with IMF and World Bank dictates is not the answer to the problems of the foreign debt, unemployment, inflation, etc. It only serves to exacerbate them.

Only by restructuring and transforming the relations of production and the ownership of the means of production, as the Cuban revolution was able to do, can Latin American and Caribbean countries begin to advance along the road of economic development and social progress.

Ivory Perry — fighter for labor and civil rights

BY ELLEN HAYWOOD

ST. LOUIS — Ivory Perry, best known as a leader of the struggle to abolish Jim Crow racial segregation in the 1960s, died here February 15.

Perry was born on May 5, 1930, into a family of sharecroppers in Arkansas. He grew up picking cotton during the depression, enduring cheating landowners and segregation.

Perry enlisted in the army at 18. Official racial segregation in the army was just beginning to be abolished, and he was sent to Korea as part of what proved to be the last all-Black unit officered by whites. He re-enlisted in 1951.

When he began to speak up against racist practices, Perry was framed up on drug charges. He was sentenced to two years' hard labor, given a dishonorable discharge, and forced to forfeit all pay and benefits.

Released in 1954, Perry moved to St. Louis.

In the early 1960s, he answered the nationwide call for volunteers to aid civil rights protests in southern cities. He went to Bogalusa, Louisiana, a rural town dominated by paper mills. The mills had recently been modernized, laying off 500 workers.

Young Black paperworkers led the civil rights struggle there, demanding jobs and an end to segregation. The Civic and Voters League, the main civil rights organization, met in the Black paperworkers' union hall.

Across the South, including in Louisiana, participants in the civil rights movement were often beaten or even killed, while law enforcement officers looked on or joined in. To put a stop to racist violence, Black workers organized an armed guard called the Deacons for Defense and Justice.

"Having these young brothers all up in trees, on rooftops, everywhere, made it easier to get people involved in demonstrations and picket lines," Perry later explained.

Perry spent 90 days in Bogalusa. When he came back to St. Louis, he organized demonstrations against police brutality, housing conditions, unemployment, and other injustices. He became active in the St. Louis chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), which organized antiracist protests against various businesses.

On one occasion in 1965, Perry and another CORE member deliberately stalled

a rented truck on a busy expressway exit ramp at rush hour as a way of calling attention to the marches for voting rights that were then taking place in Selma, Alabama.

Perry had been hired in September 1964 at the Chrysler auto assembly plant. As soon as he started working there, newspaper clippings about his civil rights activities were posted all over the plant with "KKK" and "Niggers go home" written on them.

One month after staging the stall-in on the expressway, Perry was fired for allegedly falsifying his job application.

Perry was inspired by the struggles against colonial rule that spread through Asia, Africa, and Latin America during the 1950s and '60s. He often expressed admiration for Jomo Kenyatta, a leader of the struggle to end British rule in Kenya, who headed that country's first independent government. He also admired Che Guevara, a communist leader of the Cuban revolution.

Last year, Temple University Press published *A Life in the Struggle, Ivory Perry and the Culture of Opposition*, by George Lipsitz.



Perry blocks traffic in a civil rights protest

Unions plan next step after Trinidad strike

BY DON ROJAS

Reports from Trinidad and Tobago following a one-day general strike on March 6 indicate a public mood of quiet anticipation about the next battle in the deepening struggle that has gripped this Caribbean country, now in the midst of a severe economic crisis.

"The people are now waiting to see what will happen next, who will take the next initiative and what will be the responses," said David Abdulah, one of the strike organizers and a leader of the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union.

Evidently distraught by the large numbers of teachers and students who refused to attend school on the "national day of resistance," Education Minister Clive Pantin last week offered his resignation to Prime Minister A.N.R. Robinson, claiming a lack of national confidence in his ministry.

Robinson refused to accept Pantin's resignation and supported by the French Creole elements of the country's ruling class and the capitalist press, he prevailed on his minister to stay in office.

Strike organizers claimed that the protest actions gave a "psychological lift" to the working people and that public spirits were buoyed up by the unprecedented show of trade union unity.

After failing to downplay the effectiveness of the strike, the government shifted tactics by issuing a call for a "national dialogue." In response, the Committee for Labour Solidarity (CLS) challenged Robinson to a public debate on economic policy. The CLS is a political organization linked to the country's most militant trade unions.

The prime minister did not take up the challenge but instead called on "moderate" elements in the trade union movement to "disassociate themselves from the CLS."

On March 13 representatives of all the unions met to evaluate the March 6 strike and plan future strategy. They agreed to draft a common document containing a set of demands addressed to the government. They also agreed to hold a joint meeting of their general councils on March 22.

Plans are afoot to resume a series of

meetings around the country in the coming weeks to inform the public about the demands and about the unions' perspectives for dealing with the economic crisis.

Similar meetings were held during the weeks leading up to the strike.

Meanwhile, labor protests broke out this week in Tobago, the smaller of the two islands that make up the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago. Workers at the government-owned Crown Reef Hotel have ceased working and are now occupying the facilities in defiance of government plans to sell the hotel to a foreign corporation.

This action is viewed as particularly significant since Tobago is the constituency Prime Minister Robinson represents in the national parliament, as well as his birthplace.

Tobago is also where the country's tourist industry is centered. Since coming to office two years ago the government has placed considerable emphasis on developing tourism as a substitute foreign exchange earner in the wake of plummeting oil prices on international markets.

Workers pack rallies, picket lines to back Eastern strikers

Continued from front page

lines by Eastern strikers was issued by a federal judge in New York March 14. The rail unions have said they will appeal this ruling. Despite the legality of such secondary pickets under the Railway Labor Act, which governs both airlines and railroads, the courts have barred the IAM from setting them up and the rail unions from observing them.

Strike solidarity grows

Thousands of working people, largely other unionists, have walked the picket lines with strikers and attended other solidarity activities in recent days.

In **Chicago**, where about 80 Eastern workers are on strike, a mile-and-a-half-long picket line of 2,000 unionists marched past the terminals at O'Hare Airport on March 11. The action, called by the Chicago Federation of Labor, was attended by steelworkers, teachers, railworkers, meat-packers, and members of several dozen other unions.

Some 4,000 workers from many unions, along with strikers and family members, attended a March 12 rally in **Atlanta** near the IAM strike headquarters. The United Auto Workers locally pledged \$5,000 to the IAM's strike fund.

Elmer Hamilton, a city bus driver and Atlanta Transportation Union member who attended the rally, commented on Eastern's effort to recruit workers to act as scabs during the strike. "Labor has to think of the unemployed too," he said. "We can't turn our backs on them or we will always have scabs."

In **San Juan, Puerto Rico**, members of the auto workers' and garment workers' unions joined the Eastern picket March 11. People driving by honked their horns to show their support of the strike.

On March 10 some 500 union members rallied at the **Newark** airport. Charles Marciano, president of the New Jersey AFL-CIO, reported that other unions are beginning to take responsibility for helping staff the IAM's pickets on specific days and times. Students from Rutgers University in New Brunswick attended the rally, and are planning a teach-in on the strike March 16.

After the rally, marchers went over to the terminal to picket. When they arrived,

workers on a recently landed Continental plane opened the door and waved a "Stop Lorenzo" sign in support of the strikers.

More than \$10,000 was pledged by the UAW, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and other unions at another rally held earlier that day in Cranford, New Jersey.

At Eastern's shuttle terminal at LaGuardia Airport in **New York**, hundreds of machinists, pilots, and flight attendants walked the picket line with their families on March 11, "Kids' Day." They were joined by supporters from many unions.

Actor Ed Asner, who is in New York now appearing in the Broadway play *Born Yesterday*, came out to LaGuardia to walk the picket line with strikers March 6.

The strike committee at LaGuardia has set up an outreach committee to organize sending speakers to other unions and organizations as part of its efforts to expand support for the strike.

Several hundred unionists from Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia were at **Washington, D.C.**'s National Airport for mass pickets with AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland on March 9; Rainbow Coalition head Jesse Jackson on March 10; IAM International President William Winpisinger on March 11; and United Farm Workers union President Cesar Chavez on March 12. Picket lines are supposed to be limited to six people.

Members of IAM Local 1747 from Ogden Allied Fueling — who have been forced to fuel Eastern shuttle and Continental planes — report that workers on the ramp at National are wearing red ribbons, hats, and shirts. In front of the terminal, some skycaps, cab dispatchers, and taxi drivers are also wearing red ribbons, the symbol of solidarity with the strike.

More than 3,000 workers from throughout New England packed the auditorium of the **Boston** teachers' union hall March 14 for a strike support rally. Among those pledging support for the strike were Gov. Michael Dukakis and Boston Mayor Raymond Flynn. Chants of "Union, union, union" filled the hall, and a roar went up as 20 machinists, 20 flight attendants, and 20 pilots marched through the auditorium. A contingent of Jay, Maine, paperworkers — whose hard-fought strike against Interna-



Militant/Jon Hillson

Flight attendants joined hundreds of other workers on March 11 picket at Eastern Shuttle terminal at New York's LaGuardia Airport. "Eastern flight attendants support the IAM," signs read.

tional Paper Co. ended in defeat last October — was one of the many union delegations present. National Organization for Women President Molly Yard spoke and urged those present to attend the national abortion rights march April 9 in Washington, D.C.

The port authority in Boston, MassPort, has been videotaping pickets and counting the number of people on the lines. Despite an injunction to keep the lines to 10 people, they are consistently larger.

Nearly 7,000 strike supporters attended a rally sponsored by ALPA March 7 in **Miami**, one of eight such events — all joined by video hook-up — that took place around the country that day. Eastern's headquarters is in Miami. The next day, more than 3,000 unionists rallied outside the IAM union hall.

In **Cleveland** March 13, a march and rally called by the Cleveland Federation of Labor drew 2,000 unionists to the airport. The march was headed by AFL-CIO officials and 15 Eastern and United Airlines pilots. There are 24 IAM members on strike at Eastern in Cleveland.

At **Los Angeles** International Airport, March 10 was a special solidarity night for strikers, and more than 300 unionists joined the picket lines. IAM District 720, which represents workers at two McDonnell-Douglas aerospace complexes in the

area, has pledged \$1,000 a week for the next five weeks to aid Eastern strikers. Some 250 people marched on the picket line March 12.

In **Kansas City**, Missouri, where about 25 Eastern workers are on strike, 600 unionists attended a strike support rally March 7.

Delegations of auto workers and farm workers from the Farm Labor Organizing Committee have been joining the picket lines in **Detroit**. The IAM there has also set up an outreach committee, which has already spoken to six unions, raised \$2,000, and set up a dozen more speaking engagements. A strike support rally is planned for March 18 at UAW Local 600's hall.

Pickets have gone up at the airport in **Windsor Locks**, Connecticut, where some 30 IAM members are on strike at Eastern. They've been joined by bus drivers, workers from other airlines, and other unionists from the area.

Nationally, the AFL-CIO has established a strike fund for the Eastern workers, with \$300,000 pledged as of March 14.

AFL-CIO national officials, including the IAM leadership, are continuing to urge President George Bush and/or Congress to intervene in the strike. They have scheduled a national prayer vigil at the White House for March 18.

'Strike is forging unity'

BY SANDRA LEE

BROOKLYN — "Today is the eighth day of our strike. Thanks to unionists and nonunion people, our pickets are getting stronger every day. Today there were 800 or 900 people out at LaGuardia Airport. There were people from many different unions, and they weren't just out there for the IAM. They were out there for themselves, as part of the working class."

John DiPaola, president of International Association of Machinists Local Lodge 1018 at New York's LaGuardia Airport, was bringing the latest news of the union's strike against Eastern Airlines to the March 11 Militant Labor Forum here. DiPaola is one of the 900 workers fired by Eastern in its drive against the Machinists and other unions at the airline in the months leading up to the strike.

The forum met in Public School 321's auditorium and was attended by more than 125 political activists, students, and unionists — including a number of airline workers.

"This strike is forging unity between \$110,000-a-year pilots, and ramp workers and airplane cleaners," DiPaola explained. "The pilots know that if Lorenzo succeeds in breaking the IAM, he will go after them next. . . . Sooner or later all of labor will be affected by this if Lorenzo is successful in breaking us," he said.

Susan Lantz from the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants at Trans World Airlines described the setbacks suffered by airline workers in recent years when airline

unions did not support each other's strikes — including IFFA's strike against TWA in 1986. That strike was not backed by the IAM or pilots, she said. "We've learned that just the pilots, just the flight attendants, or just the mechanics cannot win a strike. It has to be the whole work force united," Lantz stressed.

Flight attendants, she explained, are backing the Eastern strike "100 percent." She described how TWA management, at 12:06 a.m. March 4 — six minutes after the Eastern strike began — presented the flight attendant's union with a temporary restraining order to prevent them from honoring any pickets set up by the IAM strikers. "Our members were prepared not to cross those picket lines," she said.

Ernest Mailhot, a Local 1018 strike committee member and representative of the Socialist Workers Party, also spoke. He stressed that Eastern's filing for bankruptcy March 10 "changes nothing" as far as the strike is concerned. "After paying all their debts, Eastern would still have \$1 billion in assets," he said. "Our fight is to keep the airline shut down."

"This strike has captured the imagination of workers all around the country," Mailhot said. "They saw how we shut down Eastern, and realized that, as workers, we have power."

The strike, he continued, "is like a boxing match. There's no stability in a battle like this. Somebody starts winning, and somebody starts losing. The key to the whole thing for us is solidarity — it needs to continue and it needs to grow."

'Militant' sells well at plant gates

As activities backing the Eastern strikers step up around the country, distributors of the *Militant* are finding that many workers are supporting the Machinists and are anxious to learn more about their fight. *Militant* sales have shot up in the past two weeks, especially on the picket lines, at strike support events, and at plant gates and workplaces.

At a mass picket of 2,000 at the Chicago airport March 11, 100 copies of the *Militant* were sold. The day before, 30 copies were bought by workers attending a similar rally of 500 at the Newark airport.

Militant distributors in many cities have scheduled extra plant-gate sales to get out the truth about the strike to as many other unionists as possible. In Newark, 43 copies of *Militant* issue #8 were sold at 9 plant gates, in addition to nearly 30 at airport picket lines. While sales figures for the last issue, #9, are still incomplete, Newark sales coordinator Michael Italie reports 15 *Militants* were sold at one morning shift change at the Delco-Remy electronics

plant in New Brunswick, and workers at the Merck pharmaceutical plant in Rahway, New Jersey, bought 10 *Militants* one morning.

In Atlanta, *Militant* supporters had sold 273 out of their bundle of 300 of issue #9 by Wednesday night, March 15. People attending Eastern strike support events bought 50 copies, and the rest were sold in working-class communities, shopping centers, and workplaces. "The main thing was we spent a lot of time out selling," said *Militant* distributor Liz Ziers.

In Seattle, permission has been granted to have a Pathfinder literature table inside the airport terminal two days a week. *Militant* distributors report that 51 copies of issue #9 were bought by workers at the airport in three days.

Airline workers have recently begun to purchase introductory subscriptions to the *Militant*. They include nine members of Machinists' Local 1018 and one flight attendant at LaGuardia, and 14 Machinists who work at the Detroit airport.

Nicaraguan leaders commemorate 30t

Presentations by Sandinista National Liberation Front commanders Tomás



Tomás Borge

Militant

Introduction

Following are presentations by two central leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution marking the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

The first is by Tomás Borge, Nicaraguan Minister of the Interior, the only surviving founder of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. The principal founding leader of the FSLN, Carlos Fonseca, was killed by the Nicaraguan National Guard in 1978. Borge's article appeared in the Managua daily, *El Nuevo Diario* on Jan. 14, 1989.

The second is the greetings delivered by Víctor Tirado on behalf of the National Directorate of the FSLN on January 4 at a meeting in Managua to celebrate the Cuban revolution. A report on the meeting appeared in the February 3 issue of the *Militant*. The speech was published in the Jan. 7, 1989, issue of the FSLN's daily, *Barricada*. Both Borge and Tirado are among the nine members of the FSLN National Directorate.

The Cuban revolution, which overthrew the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista on Jan. 1, 1959, was led by the July 26 Movement headed by Fidel Castro. This organization took its name from an armed attack on the Moncada military garrison on July 26, 1953.

Castro and other participants in that attack were tried and jailed. Castro's courtroom speech, "History Will Absolve Me," was published and widely distributed as a basic programmatic statement of the July 26 Movement.

The translations of Borge and Tirado's presentations, as well as the subheadings and footnote, are by the *Militant*.

Tomás Borge

With the assault on the Moncada Barracks and the guerrilla struggle in the Sierra Maestra, the solidarity of Cuba awakened consciousness and hope in Latin America. It became a message, a flash of lightning piercing a night that had lasted too long. Fidel's voice demolished the old and useless prayers offered in honor of the dogmas, which at one blow turned into ashes, outmoded ideas.

As of that splendid hour, the solidarity of Cuba towards the incipient Sandinista movement was clear, explicit, without any possible subterfuges. Cuba began to overtake our dreams. We learned for the first time and for always that our dreams were realizable, within reach of our desperate hands. We learned that it was reasonable to believe in the construction of paradise,

with our eyes open, and with our feet firmly planted on the ground.

For more than 20 years, the people of Nicaragua preserved our historic mutual recognition, our revolutionary fraternity, intact and in secret.

Cuba: historic refuge

With names and nationalities changed to avoid persecution by the dictatorship, the first Sandinistas visited Old Havana, discovering an already historic refuge in the house of Pedro Monet. They made promises that seemed eternal on Havana's waterfront drive. They were enthusiastic and unskilled builders of the Camilo Cienfuegos School in the Sierra Maestra. They pursued [counterrevolutionary] bandits in the Escambray Mountains. They dug in as part of the defense line around the capital. And they gave the life of one Nicaraguan who was also called Carlos in the critical hours of the Bay of Pigs attack.

Later, dozens, hundreds of Nicaraguans arrived — always ready for return and victory — to weave plans in house No. 40, and to listen tirelessly to the thunder, the patient explanations, the wisdom, the persuasive eloquence of Fidel.

When we recovered Nicaragua on July 19, 1979, quicker than thought could become words, a flock of [Cuban] doctors,

“Without solidarity a revolution ceases to be a revolution . . .”

teachers, professionals, and technicians arrived in the land of Sandino without a thought to when they would return home. All of them have given us friendship without reservation, aid, experiences. Some gave us their lives, giving their blood not only without remorse but with crystal clear conviction.

Solidarity and revolution

Where does so much generosity come from?

It is only possible in a revolution. It is the product of a conviction transformed into flesh and blood, into habit. It is the supreme rejection of individualism. It is the concrete expression of the fact that without solidarity, a revolution ceases to be a revolution.

The friendship between Cuba and Nicaragua is historic, eternal. As long as our peoples exist; as long as we preserve the pride of dignity; as long as we make com-

mon cause with the creative capacity of the masses; as long as we are capable of resurrecting the bones of our martyrs; as long as we love beauty, tenderness, generosity, and life; as long as the Nicaraguan revolution exists; and as long as the Cuban revolution exists — and these revolutions are immortal — we will be friends, we will be brothers.

That is why it is necessary and just that we take a moment to make some observations on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

Thirty years ago — when the Nicaraguan revolutionary movement was taking its first steps and it seemed that the Somoza dictatorship could never be removed from power, and national liberation and socialism were alien concepts — Cuba achieved its liberation.

Casino colony

Thirty years ago, on Jan. 1, 1959, the combatants of the Rebel Army descended from the Sierra Maestra and did away with dependence on the U.S. and with the Batista dictatorship. That dictatorship left more than 20,000 killed, millions of people illiterate, and health care reserved for a minority.

It left Cuba in the shameful condition of being a Yankee casino colony, where U.S. domination was as natural as the setting sun.

In that year of 1959 a wave of rebellion, solidarity, anti-imperialism, and national liberation swept over Latin America, overwhelming all revolutionaries, all working people, all the peoples, with the joy of the triumph of the Cuban revolution.

That wave, which without a doubt inaugurated a new stage in the history of our

“It's impossible to ignore impact of Cuban revolution on dignity of Latin America and on its people's revolutionary consciousness . . .”

continent, also carried with it the taste of defeat and danger for the gentlemen of the dollar, those who are expert at selling their homelands and renting out countries and consciences.

Cuba was the last country to achieve independence from Spain, and the first to gain its national liberation in this hemisphere. Cuba was the first country to embark upon socialism in the Spanish language, with all that implies for culture in general and for Latin America in particular.

Dignity of Latin America

Thirty years have passed since then, and it would be impossible to ignore the impact that the Cuban revolution has had on the dignity of Latin America and on the revolutionary consciousness of the peoples of Latin America and of the whole world.

The figures of Fidel, Che Guevara, Raúl Castro, and Camilo Cienfuegos, among many others, became symbols of continental dignity. They were illusion made real; their example and sacrifice irrefutably conveyed the fact that it was possible to break the chains of dependence and subjugation.

From the possibility to the reality, from the potential to the actual, after the Cuban revolution the utopia of socialism in Latin America became an objective fact 90 miles from U.S. imperialism.

Many are the lessons that should be drawn from that experience, a revolution that has not ceased to shine with its own light since that first of January 1959.

Cuba, an historic exception?

While many of us adhered to the thesis the Cuban revolution was concretely de-

monstrating, others rushed to decree that the Cuban case was exceptional. According to them, the revolution in Cuba had required violence and military struggle by the people because of the specific characteristics of the Batista dictatorship and the composition of Cuban society in the 1950s. They argued that the socialist transformation of society could be achieved in other countries without a political revolution, certainly without violence, and above all, without arousing the wrath of the empire and the ruling classes, from whom it was necessary to gradually wrest changes and rights until achieving socialism by means of a radicalization of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

“The Cuban revolution has clarified how the transition to socialism develops in an underdeveloped country . . .”

The Cuban revolution cast doubt on this comfortable way of being “revolutionary” and reaffirmed the words of [Augusto César] Sandino: “The sovereignty of a people is not debated, it is defended with weapons in hand.”

At the same time, it must be said, a mechanical reading of the Cuban experience led many guerrilla groups and incipient movements to try to reproduce “the guerrilla struggle of the July 26 Movement under different conditions and without a base among the people, suffering painful defeats.

Debate on lessons of Cuba

And so, while voices and consciences joined together in defense of the Cuban revolution, isolated and under attack, a debate developed throughout the Latin American left, often signed with the blood of combatants.

Cuba, Fidel, Che, put forward an idea: the Latin American bourgeoisies were so dependent on U.S. imperialism that it was impossible to expect a national and democratic revolution from them. The working people, the revolutionaries, had to lead that revolution and carry out its tasks together with the tasks of national liberation, taking into account the concrete conditions of each country.

Nonetheless, Cuba was careful not to appeal to extremism. Che, who was without a doubt the ideal guerrilla, was also ()



Repr

Fidel Castro with July 26 Movement troops

h anniversary of Cuban revolution

Borge and Víctor Tirado

model of a flexible political leader. He maintained that it would be "inexcusable to write off the advantage the revolutionary program can derive from an election campaign, just as it would be inexcusable to limit oneself strictly to the electoral arena and ignore other means of struggle — including armed struggle — in the fight for power."

Bastion of socialism

The interrelationship of strategy and tactics, flexibility on tactical questions combined with firmness when it comes to principles — this is the unmistakable mark of Cuba's revolutionary policy.

The strategy of people's war has made Cuba a bastion of socialism in Latin America. The numerous difficulties they have experienced, the blockade, and the acts of aggression, have not weakened the Cuban people. Rather they have enabled them to acquire even greater revolutionary consciousness.

The Nicaraguan revolution, which has its own characteristics and is built on the strength of Sandino's nationalism, recognizes that it has been nourished by Cuba's example. The Nicaraguan revolution confirmed in our society that revolutions triumph, in the final analysis, when they have sufficient military force of their own to conquer or neutralize — which is the same thing — the violence of the ruling classes and of imperialism.

The bourgeoisie may or may not be part of the revolutionary alliance, but what they will never be able to do is seize from the workers and peasants their fundamental role in the leadership of this process.

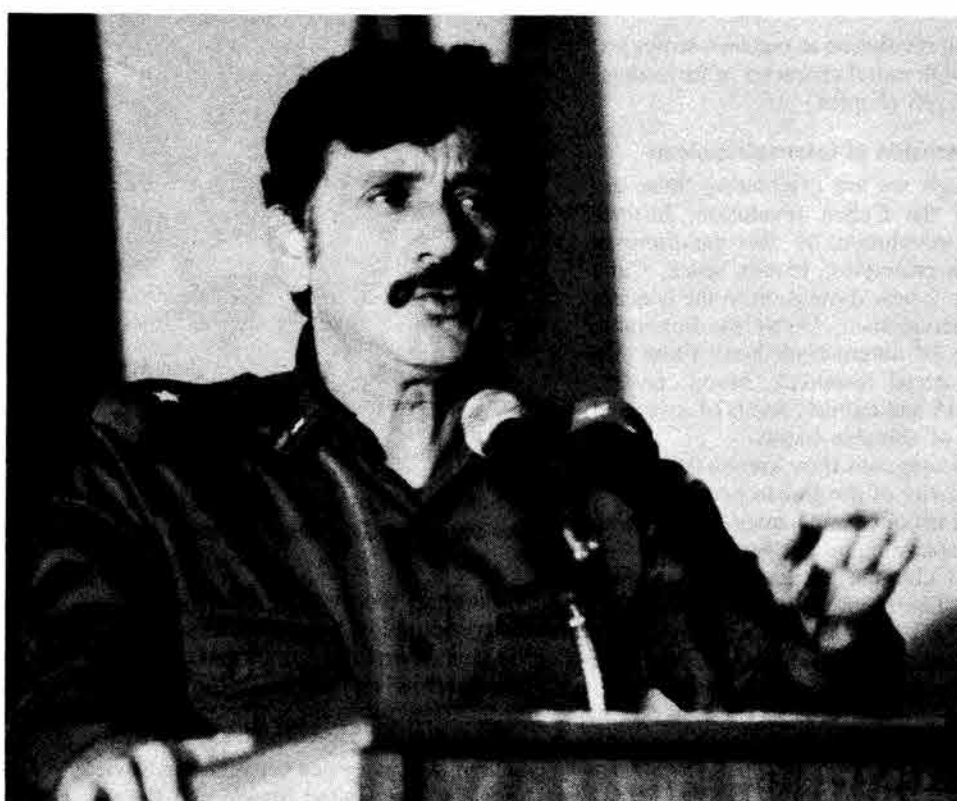
Enriching theory of transition

The Cuban revolution has contributed to a clarification of how the transition to socialism develops in an underdeveloped country, enriching the theory and throwing light on the practice. As we Nicaraguans have learned, this transition has its own special features in poor and backward countries, where the working class is only beginning to come into being.

In this situation the immediate tasks of the revolution all become one, the political struggle moves into the economic arena, and it is not until this period that the social conflict between opposing forces can be seen with the utmost clarity.

Cuba's experience and our own show that during the transition process there is a resurgence, not only of the antagonism between the ruling classes ousted from power and the new classes that have seized it, but also contradictions among social sectors and layers that make up the social base of

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Víctor Tirado

Militant

Víctor Tirado

On behalf of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, I bring greetings to the Cuban people, and Commander-in-chief Fidel Castro especially, on the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

When the Cuban revolution triumphed 30 years ago, the peoples of Latin America embraced it joyfully, with immense happiness, as their own, as the single event that opened a new stage in the history of our continent.

Naturally, it was only dictators such as the Somozas and Trujillos who didn't welcome the revolution. The U.S. government greeted it coldly, regarding it with mistrust and misgiving, because the Cuban revolutionaries made the independent, nationalist character of their movement all too clear.

Even before the Cuban revolution declared itself socialist, the U.S. government rejected it and began to harass it. The United States provoked a confrontation with the Cuban revolution, initiating the conflict that continues to this day. They had done the same with the Chinese revolution, and later would do likewise with the Sandinista revolution.

In the cold war mentality of the Yankee rulers, any country that was not their ally must be against them, in the enemy camp. The original sin of the Cuban revolution was that it exercised its right to self-determination. This is what Washington will not forgive.

In the 1960s, during the first decade of the revolution, the Cubans worked energetically to transform society. The goals of the

“The Cuban revolution initiated a new epoch for the countries of Latin America . . .”

Moncada Program had been completely achieved by 1961. Nevertheless there were other, deeper advances to be made, and these were carried out.

Deeply moved the peoples

The Cuban revolution moved the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean deeply. It put anti-imperialist, nationalist, and socialist revolutions on the order of the day. Armed action was clearly their strategy for struggle.

The entire decade of the 1960s was marked by the influence of the Cuban rev-

olution in our America. Cuba proved that it was possible to defeat military dictatorships supported by the United States and the domestic oligarchies.

Cuba also proved that even in the "backyard" of the United States it was possible to make profound economic, social, and political changes as long as the people remained firmly united, determined to resist and foil any outside attack, any military intervention, direct or indirect, by the U.S. government. This was possible as long as the people were strong enough to confront the economic and armed power of the aggressor.

Cuba made use of its independence and self-determination by declaring itself socialist in 1961. The socialist system is part of our world today, and each country that chooses this road will have to demonstrate the superiority of socialism in the economic arena and in terms of peace. The Cuban revolution initiated a new epoch for the countries of Latin America: one of national liberation, the real history of social progress.

The Cuban revolution blazed new trails, but independence passes through different historical stages. Economic independence is one of the most difficult, fundamental stages in the national liberation of the peoples and governments of Latin America. For economic independence, what is required is a strong social system, sometimes a strong military, and the will-power to carry the process through.

But Cuba also inspired our peoples because it demonstrated the economic and social advantages of the new regime. This could be seen in the victorious campaign against illiteracy; the banishing of racial discrimination; the availability of free education, social security, and health care; an end to unemployment; and a more egalitarian social system.

Stimulated guerrilla movements

The influence of the Cuban revolution also stimulated guerrilla movements in many Latin American countries. During the 1960s, the new revolutionary movement on this continent saw armed action and socialism as answers to the big national problems.

Propagandists in Washington and Latin America accused Cuba of organizing the guerrilla movements, as though these had nothing to do with the conditions that existed in these countries. It is true that Cuba inspired the guerrilla movements through its example, and that it even lent some material support. But Cuba did not create the guerrillas. They developed as a result of their own dynamic, of internal conflicts, as an answer to reactionary violence and the lack of democratic space. It

was the United States and its Latin American allies, above all, the military, that created the conditions in which violence would proliferate.

Predecessor of modern guerrilla

On the other hand, it is important to remember that Cuba did not invent guerrilla war. This first appeared in Latin America during the last century, during the War for Independence. It is also worth pointing out that one of the great predecessors of modern guerrilla war was Gen. [Augusto César] Sandino.

With the exception of ours, the rest of the Latin American armed movements did not take power, which has led many superficial observers of history to conclude that the guerrillas of the 1960s were ineffective. Although it's true that the majority of the guerrilla movements did not triumph, this doesn't mean that their efforts were sterile. No struggle is infertile; it is worse to do nothing.

The guerrillas left behind valuable experience. They radicalized sectors we never imagined would affiliate with the revolutionary camp — Christians, for example, in this case represented by Father Camilo Torres. In addition, little by little, they helped force governments that feared the upsurge of new armed movements to carry out limited, timid reforms — changes that were made under the pressure of the specter and influence of the Cuban revolution. The United States was even forced to establish the counterrevolutionary Alliance for Progress.

This is not the place to analyze the causes that prevented the success of the

“The sin of Cuban revolution was exercising right to self-determination . . .”

guerrilla movement. However, it's worth pointing out, even if only in passing, that one of the primary reasons was lack of unity among the left, as well as the lack of a policy of broad alliances. This facilitated the success of the counterrevolutionary response by the United States, implemented by its Latin American allies.

Was that a defeat of the revolution? In one sense it was. But revolutionary progress does not follow a straight line. There are advances, periods of stagnation, reversals, retreats, periods during which the revolutionary forces gather strength, until the revolutionary party matures and is victorious.

Cuban revolution moves forward

The Cuban revolution confronted many problems, obstacles, and serious setbacks, but always moved forward. For many years, the U.S. government isolated Cuba diplomatically from the rest of the continent, but not from the peoples of Latin America. Today, Cuba is once more a fully integrated member of the Latin American community, and it won't be long before Cuba will rejoin a new Latin American organization from which it was arbitrarily expelled in the past by the Yankee government — the OAS [Organization of American States].

The world has changed a great deal since the victory of the Cuban revolution. Intolerance toward Cuba by the majority of the governments of Latin America and the Caribbean is a thing of the past. Those governments that during the 1960s proclaimed the Cuban regime to be incompatible with representative democracy have been forced to acknowledge that pluralism does exist on our continent, in spite of the Reagan administration's obstinate and irrational opposition.

Today's methods of struggle can't be the

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nted by permission of Pathfinder/Pacific and Asia
s entering Havana, Cuba, January 1959.

Nicaraguan leaders mark significance of Cuban revolution

Borge

Continued from Page 9
the revolution.

The middle layers of the bourgeoisie can either ally themselves with the revolution or they can wait on the sidelines in the hope that the revolutionary program will be implemented in a harmless way and that social changes will be limited to actions that do not call into question the domination of capital.

Land reform, reform of the educational and legal systems, changes in property structures, restoring a foreign policy that puts national interests first — these do not please imperialism or its representatives, who resort to all forms of aggression in their attempt to contain and reverse this historic process.

Defense against imperialism

We all know that when a revolution is genuine, it produces a counterrevolution. Cuba, over the course of these 30 years, has drawn the lessons from this in organizing its political and military defense. We have also learned, over the course of these 10 years, to defend ourselves against U.S. aggression. The whole U.S. strategy for Latin America — its diplomacy, economic policy, and intelligence operations — were restructured in order to isolate and destroy, first the Cuban revolution, and now also the Nicaraguan revolution.

The least we can say is that the United States has suffered one of its greatest defeats. The Cuban revolution is stronger than ever, Nicaragua continues with its own revolution, and the other Latin American countries are closer and closer to finding advanced forms of democracy, and in some cases, to achieving national liberation.

People's power

People's power is the response of the exploited to the United States' interference in our affairs. When we are besieged by economic aggression and someone breaks through this siege with increased production, efficiency, austerity, by taking greater initiative — that is people's power.

People's power is democracy. People's power is the capacity of the masses to sacrifice part of their bread, part of their home, part of their health, part of every material necessity, in order not to lose their liberty, their right to decide their own destiny.

This is one of the lessons of Cuba. It is a concrete application of revolutionary theory, without dogmatism and with the ability to identify dogmatism and eliminate it with frank and timely self-criticism.

In recent years, the frontiers of national liberation have been expanded in Latin America. Democracy, nationalism, religion, culture and education, the law, and even the armed forces — things that until a few decades ago were the undisputed territory of imperialist rule — now constitute disputed terrain.

Confident of victory

The future of Latin America cannot depend exclusively on a revolution like the Cuban revolution, or a revolution like the Nicaraguan revolution. The challenges that are still posed are numerous, and imperialism is still powerful. But we can be sure of victory, in one form or another. We are sure that with our own hands we can build the kingdom of happiness out of the kingdom of necessity.

By now we know that the subjective component, the moral element, is the only guarantee that we will be able to build a new world for a new man. The new man and the new world are built every day, every hour, with enthusiasm and with boldness. We will not wait until all our material needs have been met before we take the first steps towards improving the human qualities of man.

If there is anything that must be acknowledged in Latin America as the legacy of

the Cuban revolution to our own struggles, it is the high moral character of its leaders, its cadres, its peoples.

New dimension of internationalism

Although we are celebrating three decades of the Cuban revolution, historic time for revolutions is also measured in deeds, in principles. In this sense, Cuba has given a new dimension to the concept of internationalism. Under the honorable principle of internationalism, Cuba has given material resources, blood, professionals, art and culture, songs of love, and the lives of valuable cadres.

We Nicaraguans have known the unlimited solidarity of the Cuban people.

A long list of Cuban heroes — beginning in El Chaparral* and not yet concluded — has tied Cuba and Nicaragua together for eternity. The time will come, some day, when all of Latin America will pay tribute to the political and moral contribution that Cuba has made over these three decades.

Tirado

Continued from Page 9

same as those of 20 years ago. These change over time — some take center stage, some are more important than others. They are methods, means of achieving a strategic goal, and they cannot remain static. What can't be lost is the central goal, the revolution, the perspective for socialism, the need to establish a social regime in the interest of the majority.

Need to adjust strategies

The world revolutionary movement is facing a new situation, a new set of problems. There is a sort of international reconciliation, an understanding between the superpowers, a reduction in international and regional tensions. We must use this to promote the social, economic, and political progress of the so-called Third World, to which we belong.

The time has come to adjust strategies and tactics to the new realities. In Latin America, the era of the guerrilla is not yet at an end, but it cannot be the only method of struggle. In the majority of the countries on this continent a period of reforms has opened up — of parliamentary, electoral,

“Today's methods of struggle can't be the same as 20 years ago . . .”

and trade union struggles — where armed struggle is not the order of the day. Revolutionary programs and tactics for taking power are, and should be, developed in the context of these conditions.

Today, solutions to the problems of the foreign debt, inflation, the price of raw materials, and economic stagnation are on the agenda. If we are unable to find answers to all of these problems, we will never escape underdevelopment. We will remain producers of raw materials, including unrefined oil.

It is in this arena, as well as others, that the revolutionary movement has to demonstrate that it is in the leadership of popular struggles, that it offers a real alternative, that its ideology, politics, programs, and tactics, are coherent. Today Marxism-Leninism and all other revolutionary doctrines are being tested. We have to be capable of proving in practice that these doctrines are viable, vital, and rich.

We have to recreate and reforge a new

* In June 1959, El Chaparral, in Honduran territory near the Nicaraguan border, was the scene of an armed confrontation between Nicaraguan revolutionaries and Honduran troops. Carlos Fonseca was wounded in the battle.



Militant
Part of crowd at July 26 celebration in Havana, July 1988. Thousands of Cubans have served as teachers, doctors, and construction workers in Nicaragua.

revolutionary theory from all of the revolutionary thought of humanity, to serve as a guide for action in the conditions of today's and tomorrow's world.

Perestroika, USSR-U.S. ties

The new, closer ties between the Soviet Union and the United States, and the appearance of *perestroika*, are not, as is sometimes believed, an obstacle to the development of the revolutionary movement in the Third World. On the contrary, they open new possibilities for change, only now in a different way, because economic relations determine everything, within limits. As Lenin would say, today politics is concentrated economics.

Thirty years after the victory of the Cuban revolution, and 10 years after the triumph of the Sandinista revolution, these are the issues we have to consider carefully. These are the problems we will have to make decisions on. I only point them out here because in the future they will be, in fact they already are, at the center of the debate internationally, regionally, and nationally.

The Cuban revolution has been a source of inspiration and solidarity for us. It gave us courage and hope when we fought the Somoza dictatorship. We learned from its experience, and we incorporated what we thought was useful and appropriate into our doctrine and actions. We never tried to

copy the Cuban revolution, because a genuine revolution has to be original, to create and recreate, not be a carbon copy of something else.

Circumstances have changed, and this demands reorganization on our part. What's happened is that the revolution has become more complicated — not that it's ever been simple, but now things are more complex. We are facing situations we hadn't foreseen and that we weren't sufficiently prepared to confront. In addition, revolutions in the Third World can't depend only or exclusively on agreement or lack of agreement between the superpowers, because we're not going to wait for others to show us the way. We must create our own strategy. We must be capable of defining our own way forward so that we are less dependent on the ups and downs of the big power centers.

The Third World must also be a center of power and have more weight in the world balance of power. We are entering a period in which the strength or weakness of a given country depends more on the state of its economy and less on its military power.

As it turns out, Marx is being proven right, because in the final analysis economic relations determine everything, not in a mechanical, absolute, or automatic way, but in the sense that every revolution must follow its own course whether this coincides in some respects with one or another revolution.

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Nicaragua workers move to countryside

Union federation helps relocate city workers to ease impact of layoffs

BY JUDY WHITE

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Twenty-two workers loaded the most basic of their worldly goods on the back of a truck one recent morning and left the city. They are starting a new life as members of a collective farm in Nicaragua's mountainous north-central region.

Among the group were laid-off construction workers, an agronomic technician, workers from factories that manufacture paper and plywood, and a first lieutenant in the army who is "bored" with military life after 10 years' service.

They were joined by another dozen workers who went along "to check out the terrain" in order to decide if they too will make the move.

This was the first contingent of the 10th Anniversary Brigade being organized by the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) "to lift the economy of the country."

These city dwellers will relocate to state or collective farms "to make the land produce, because the future of Nicaragua is in the countryside," according to the CST leadership.

Pilot project

A few hundred workers have joined collective farms or spent extended periods of time as farm workers at state enterprises over the past year.

"We proposed to experiment, to see how much the workers of the city could contribute in a more effective and practical way to resolving the big economic problems of our country," Donald Silva explained. Silva is one of the national leaders of the CST who has moved to the countryside as part of the project.

Now, he said, the CST has drawn a positive balance sheet on its pilot project and is campaigning to extend participation to thousands of unemployed in the cities.

Lucío Jiménez, president of the federation, laid out some projections at a recent meeting of unionists here. The government has announced a new round of layoffs, which will eliminate 35,000 jobs for workers in the army, Ministry of the Interior, government ministries, and state-owned factories.

The CST's initial goal is to convince 500 of those affected to move to a state coffee farm for one year to boost production of this key export crop. In addition, Jiménez said, there is one collective farm that is looking for 60 members, and another with space for 50 new members.

Going to work in the countryside "is a realistic alternative, though a radically different one" for the unemployed, Jiménez stated. "The problem is not simply one for our factories," he added. "It's a problem for the whole country. It's our obligation to help these *compañeros* of the army, the Ministry of the Interior, and in the mass or-

ganizations find a solution too."

Jiménez made it clear that life in the countryside isn't going to be easy at first. "You will be starting from zero," he said. "And the work will be mainly swinging a machete."

Union produces video

The CST has produced a video based on discussions with workers who have been part of the move to the countryside up to now. The workers speak frankly about the problems they encountered, but also register the gains they have made as farmers and ranchers. The video has been shown on national television and is being taken from factory to factory by a team of CST leaders, who show it at meetings and actively try to recruit workers to relocate.

"The economic crisis we are suffering exists not only in Nicaragua," said CST official Eligio Chávez in his explanation of the project to an assembly of 200 workers at a state-owned plywood factory outside Managua. "It's worldwide. Developing our agroexports is the only way out for us right now," the CST leader continued. "Even if the layoffs aren't affecting you here at this moment, there will be *compañeros* affected by the economic measures sooner or later."

Chávez told the workers that many collective farms the government had set up during the war for refugees are now abandoned, their housing vacant, their lands lying idle. This is because many peasants are returning to their old farms now that the war has ended.

One such abandoned farm is Monterrey. "The state is turning this collective farm over to the working class for us to work," Chávez said.

Workers' reactions

Francisco Guerrero Zelaya listened carefully to what was said at the assembly. He is 19 years old, from a peasant background. He spent most of the last four years in the army. Two days later, Guerrero showed up at a send-off rally at the CST headquarters, with a knapsack of clothes.

"I decided to go after the assembly," Guerrero explained. Even though there are no layoffs projected currently at the plywood plant, "there aren't any raw materials," he explained.

"I'm the only one who has decided to relocate," he added. "My coworkers are afraid the company is going to close," he said, "but they have never been in the army, and they are afraid they will get killed" in the countryside. Monterrey is in an area that saw a lot of contra activity during the war.

"But I'm sure several others will also decide to make the move," added María Elena Rojas, general secretary of the CST local at the plywood plant. "They just need some time to think it over."

Nonetheless, not everyone agrees with the CST's approach to the problem. Some government officials, while supporting the idea that more workers should move to the countryside, see it mainly as an individual decision for unemployed workers to make, rather than as part of a social and political effort to inspire volunteers and encourage participation.

And there are some Nicaraguans who think the CST's campaign is wrong. "It sounds like Pol Pot to me," said one young government employee, referring to the Kampuchean tyrant who, in the 1970s, in the name of socialism, ordered the forced removal of people from the cities.

But more common are hesitations about farm life, together with hopes that somehow "the layoffs won't reach me." For those with college educations, there is also the desire to hang on to better-paying jobs and resistance to "deprofessionalizing" themselves.

Send-off rally

At a recent send-off rally for the group going to Monterrey several trade unions made pledges of money and supplies.

"We are deepening the revolution by rebuilding the country," said CST leader René Bonilla in his concluding remarks at the rally, "but we need an immediate aid program from the government" to extend the project.



Lucío Jiménez, president of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST). One CST goal is to help relocate 500 laid-off workers from Managua to a state coffee farm. Finding jobs for thousands of unemployed workers is "a problem for the whole country," Jiménez said recently.

—WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

China imposes martial law in Tibetan capital

Beijing imposed martial law in Lhasa and deployed thousands of troops in the Tibetan capital on March 7. A nightly news program televised throughout the country reported that the government in Lhasa had been authorized to take "any measures necessary to restore order." Chinese officials have said the martial law decree will remain in effect as long as necessary.

The New China News Agency reported that Lhasa and two adjoining counties would be "cordoned off" and "all meetings, parades, strikes, petitions, and any other gathering are banned."

On March 7 some 600, mostly young, Tibetans clashed with police during a march calling for independence from China. Chinese-run shops, restaurants, and hotels were burned and ransacked. Officially 12 protesters have been reported killed and another 100 injured. Unofficial reports from Tibetans place the figures much higher. One policeman was reported killed.

The clash was the fourth on that scale between proindependence Tibetans and police in the last 18 months. Some 24 Tibetans were killed during proindependence demonstrations in 1987. Two others died when police fired on demonstrations on December 10 last year. In an uprising against Chinese rule in 1959, an estimated 87,000 Tibetans were killed.

Farm workers strike broken in Guatemala

Guatemalan troops and police broke a strike of some 50,000 agricultural workers last month. The walkout, which affected cotton, coffee, and sugarcane workers, was organized by the Committee for Campesino Unity (CUC).

The strike began January 23. During the first week of February, troops and police occupied sugar plantations and processing mills after plantation bosses and Guatemalan President Vinicio Cerezo rejected talks with the strikers. Police used tear gas to disperse large groups of strikers who attempted to blockade the roads and keep sugar from being transported to the mills.

The workers demanded a raise in the minimum wage for agricultural workers to 10 quetzales (\$3.70) a day and improvements in living conditions.

The walkout was the largest by agricultural workers since an estimated 75,000 went on strike in 1980. That action, also organized by the CUC, won an increase in the minimum wage for agricultural workers from 1.20 quetzales a day to 3.20. The minimum wage has not been raised since.

Soviet nuclear ship blocked at four ports

A Soviet nuclear-powered container ship was refused entry at four ports in the Soviet Far East due to public protest, reported a March 7 Reuters dispatch. Thousands of residents of the Soviet Far East wrote letters to a radio station in the region protesting the presence of the ship.

The newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya* reported that local authorities in Vladivostok, Nakhodka, and Magadan had all refused to allow the *Sevmorput* to dock. In Vostochny officials decided against allowing the ship to dock after workers protested.

The ship's crew attempted to calm the protest by allowing people onto the vessel and meeting with residents. But the previous Saturday the newspaper *Vodney Transport* reported that a Nov. 11, 1988, reactor meltdown on another ship was narrowly averted.

Concern about nuclear safety has increased in the Soviet Union since the massive accident at Chernobyl in 1986. An estimated 31 people died when the No. 4 reactor at Chernobyl exploded and burned. The accident forced the evacuation of more than 10,000 people in the area of the plant.

Last year Moscow abandoned construction of a nuclear power plant near the Black Sea in face of public opposition. *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, newspaper of the Young Communist League, reported at the time that all 20 of the country's operating nuclear power plants are "bitterly opposed" by people living near them. The YCL supports the use of nuclear power.

Int'l Women's Day meeting in New York hails Cuban revolution

NEW YORK — Nearly 200 people gathered at the G.R. Community Center here in Manhattan March 5 to celebrate International Women's Day and the Cuban revolution. The program was titled "Thirty Years of the Cuban Revolution Through Women's Eyes."

Special guests at the event included representatives of the United Nations missions of Cuba, Nicaragua, Vietnam, and Zimbabwe, as well as of the observer mission of the South West Africa People's Organisation. A representative of the Federation of Cuban Women also attended.

Several members of the Venceremos Brigade addressed the meeting, reporting on the advances Cuba has achieved in education, health care, and housing, as well as Cuba's contribution in extending solidarity to many other peoples fighting for their liberation around the world. The Venceremos Brigade is a U.S. group that has organized work brigades and other trips to Cuba for the past 20 years.

The program also featured cultural presentations of music, dance, and poetry.

CALIFORNIA

Berkeley

Breaking the Information Blockade Against Nicaragua. Panel discussion on Nicaragua's economy. Sun., April 2, 7 p.m. La Peña, Shattuck and Woolsey. Sponsor: Barricada International Support Committee. For more information call (415) 654-0104.

Los Angeles

Socialist Open House and Showing of Video Children of the Debt. Discussion with members of the Young Socialist Alliance on need to cancel the Third World debt. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 18, 5 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$1. Sponsor: Young Socialists for Joel Britton for Mayor of Los Angeles. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

San Francisco

Celebrate Palestinian National Independence. Honor the Heroes of the Intifada. Program includes dinner, folk dancing, Dabke, national songs. Sun., April 2, 7 p.m. Palace of Fine Arts Theatre, 3301 Lyon St. Donation: \$10. Sponsor: Palestinian Democratic Youth Organization.

Concert: Cutumay Camones from El Salvador. Sat., April 15, 8 p.m. York Theatre, 2789 24th St. Tickets \$8 in advance, \$10 at door. For more information call (415) 648-5510.

IOWA

Des Moines

Defend Free Speech, Stop Attacks on Salman Rushdie. A panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 18, 4:00 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

The Banning of The Satanic Verses: Why Working People Need to Fight Censorship and Defend Democratic Rights. Speaker: Bob Quigley, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 18, dinner, 6 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: dinner, \$3; program, \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

War and Crisis in the Americas. Socialist Workers Campaign Open House. Speakers: Betsy Soares, Socialist Workers candidate for Boston School Committee at-large. Slide show from El Salvador. Sat., March 18, 4 to 7 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Campaign '89. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

Solidarity with the Eastern Airlines Strike. Speakers to be announced. Wed., March 22, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

Evening in Solidarity with Cuba. Dinner, dance, and informal conversation on the accomplishments of the Cuban revolution with two recent visitors. Sat., March 25, 7 p.m. 90 Pleasant St., Cambridge (off Putnam). Donation: \$6 for buffet and party, \$2 party only. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (617) 247-6772, 492-1458.

MINNESOTA

Austin

Reconstructing Nicaragua: A Report Back From a Volunteer. Speaker: Phil Norris, member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-6, recently returned from a reconstruction brigade in Nicaragua. Sun., March 19, 7

p.m. 407 1/2 N Main St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (507) 433-3461.

Minneapolis

Putting the Pieces Together: The 2nd Annual Central America Educational Conference. Speakers: Dave Dyson, union label director, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, national director, National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador; Rafael Varela, producer of Latin America Weekly Review, KFAI; Polly Mann, co-founder and former director of Women Against Military Madness. Sat., April 1, noon to 5:30 p.m. Newman Center, 1701 University Avenue S.E. Sponsor: Central America Week Coalition. For more information call (612) 644-8030.

St. Paul

Capitalism in Crisis: A Working-Class Approach to Confront the Growing Economic and Social Crisis. Speakers: Denise McInerney and Wendy Lyons, Socialist Workers candidates for mayor in Minneapolis and St. Paul. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 18, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Statewide Rally to Protest Police Brutality. Sat., March 25, 2 p.m. State Capitol in St. Paul. Sponsor: Ad Hoc Committee Against Police Brutality. For more information call (612) 625-0045.

Stop U.S. Intervention in Central America. Rally and march. Speakers: Dave Dyson, union label director, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and national director, National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador; Phyllis Kahn, Minnesota state representative; representative of Cutumay Camones, musical group of the FDR/FMLN of El Salvador. Sun., April 2, assemble 5:30 p.m., State Capitol steps in St. Paul, rally 6 p.m., march 6:45 p.m., inter-faith service at St. Paul Cathedral at 7:30 p.m. Sponsor: Central America Week Coalition. For more information call (612) 644-8050.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

The Salvadoran Revolution Today. Speaker: Jaime Suriano, U.S. representative of Radio Farabundo Martí. Sun., March 19, 7 p.m. 5534 Troost. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 444-7880.

NEBRASKA

Omaha

Defend Democratic Rights: Protest Attack on Pathfinder Bookstore. Speakers to be announced. Sat., March 18, 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

The Fight to Defend Abortion Rights. Speakers: Judi Addeleston, president of Women's Action Movement, Brooklyn College; representative of National Organization for Women, New York City; Tricia Feely, Communications Workers of America member at Planned Parenthood clinic; Kay Sedam, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., March 18, 7 p.m. 464 Bergen. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (718) 398-6983.

Manhattan

Protest Israeli Occupation. Weekly vigil to support Palestinian uprising. Every Wed. 5-6

p.m. through March 29 at the Israeli UN mission, 42nd St. and 2nd Ave. Sponsor: Palestine Solidarity Committee. For more information call (212) 964-7299.

Bailemos/Let's Dance: Celebrate 20th/30th Anniversary of the Venceremos Brigade and the Cuban Revolution. Sat., April 1, social hour, 8 to 10 p.m.; dance, 10 p.m. to 2:30 a.m. Phelps House, 593 Columbus Ave. (corner of 88th St.). Donation: \$10. Sponsor: N.Y. Venceremos Brigade.

Fundraising Concert and Party for 'Tet Kole' (Heads Together), national peasant movement in Haiti. Featuring: leading Haitian bands Kajou and Sakad; art exhibition of Haitian paintings and crafts for sale; food. Sat., April 1, 7 p.m. Taller Latinoamericano, 63 E 2nd St. Donation: \$8. Sponsor: Haiti Support Committee. For more information call (212) 781-5157.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Stop the U.S. War in El Salvador. Panel discussion. Sun., March 19, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cleveland

El Salvador: The Struggle for Peace. Speakers: Sheldon Liss, professor of Latin American history and government, University of Akron; David Marshall, Socialist Workers Party, member United Steelworkers of America Local 1157. Sun., March 19, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

OREGON

Portland

Maurice Bishop and the Revolution in Grenada, 1979-83. Speaker: Steve Craine, Socialist Workers Party; Maurice, documentary video. Sat., March 18, 7:30 p.m. 2730 NE Union. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

TEXAS

Houston

Defending Women's Rights. Speaker: Mary Pritchard, Socialist Workers Party, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-367; Kathy Aubin, Texas National Organization for Women Executive Committee; Cathy Cortney, Texas Abortion Rights Action League. Sat., March 18, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

For Massive U.S. Aid to Nicaragua. Speaker: Heather Hanson, former intern for Nicaragua Network in Washington, D.C., and Managua; Al Budka, Socialist Workers Party. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

UTAH

Price

What's At Stake in Machinists' Strike Against Eastern Airlines. Speaker: Judy Stranahan, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Price, member International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Sun., March 19, 5 p.m. 253 E Main. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

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WASHINGTON

Seattle

Can Protectionism Save Jobs? A Canadian Woodworker Discusses U.S.-Canada Free Trade Pact. Speaker: Fred Nelson, member International Woodworkers of America, Canada Local 1-357, New Westminster, British Columbia. Sat., March 18, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Defend Abortion Rights. Speaker: Toba Singer, longtime women's rights activist, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., March 18, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Morgantown

Solidarity with Eastern Strikers. Speaker: Nancy Brown, member International Association of Machinists Lodge 796, on strike against Eastern at National Airport in Washington, D.C., Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., March 18, 7:30 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

How to Answer the Government's Attack on Family Farmers. Speakers: Sara Johnston, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 100, Chicago; John Kinsman, Family Farm Defense Fund, farmer from LaValle, Wisconsin; Wally Leuder, Wisconsin Farm Unity Alliance, farmer from Neosho, Wisconsin. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 18, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

The Eastern Airlines Strike: What It Means for Working People. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 25, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

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Through thick and thin — Housebroken parrots are the current pet of choice among New York yuppies. One real estate broker still loves his \$2,500 bird



Harry Ring

even though it ate the ostrich skin off his \$1,000 cowboy boots.

Dr. Fixit? — In a 1986 court-

martial, Dr. Donal Billig, then chief heart surgeon at Bethesda Naval Hospital, and legally blind in one eye, was convicted in the botched-operation deaths of three patients. A military review court reversed the conviction. Now the feds are investigating information that Billig bribed at least one judge on the review panel.

P.S. — Texans with heart problems will be reassured to know that since being sprung from the brig, the good Dr. Billig has been granted a license to practice in that state.

And they know long hours —

Farmers being driven off the land should consider nursing, advises Rosalee Yeaworth, dean of the University of Nebraska nursing college. The two professions, she says, have similarities. For instance, "Farmers can be very nurturing of livestock. They have to know a lot about chemicals used in pesticides and herbicides, and drugs used for livestock."

For sure — Thomas Vartanian was counsel to the federal agency that gave a free hand to savings-and-loan swindlers. Currently, he's in the thick of S&L mergers and acquisitions, pocketing fees that total \$12 million. He advises, "People don't come out of a regulatory

agency ... and become a plumber."

Sounds reasonable — Larry Hagman — who plays J.R. Ewing, the ruthless money-grabber in the TV series "Dallas" — said many real-life businessmen see Ewing as a role model. "For a lot of these people," he says, "J.R. isn't evil at all; he's just another executive taking care of business in a tough world."

Horatio Alger story — In a glowing tribute to billionaire tycoon Robert Bass, a *Boston Globe* article notes that he learned his trade from some master investors, including his brother who "took a

\$50 million family inheritance and in less than 20 years turned it into a family fortune valued at \$5 billion."

Try the NLRB — Michael Milken, who was junk-bond chief for Drexel Burnham Lambert, asked the courts to get him back his job and 1988 bonus. As part of a plea bargain, the company had agreed to ax Milken. His year's pay and bonus is about \$200 million.

America, the beautiful — According to federal data, some 150 million people in the United States live in areas where air pollution exceeds the modest limits established by the Clean Air Act.

Views on democratic rights aired at Rushdie forum

Continued from Page 3

divisive, so explosive," she stated. *Mein Kampf* was a book in which Adolf Hitler, before coming to power in Germany in 1933, detailed the reactionary, racist outlook of the Nazi Party.

The Satanic Verses, she argued, "is anti-Black and anti-Third World." The claim that the call to ban it was a violation of democratic rights, she asserted, was "paternalistic."

Voice editor Willis rejected the comparison of *The Satanic Verses* with *Mein Kampf*. Hitler's book "was propaganda for a genocidal political movement. What is really offensive is the movement, not the book."

"The idea that democratic freedoms are a Western thing, that we need freedom but those people don't, is enormously racist," Willis said.

Activist Sheila Ryan called for "defending Salman Rushdie's freedom in a way that expands the democratic rights of all people involved. Opposing anti-Muslim prejudice does not mean calling for banning the book, or that defending the book is support to imperialism."

Magda Bogin, author and translator of Isabel Allende's *House of the Spirits*, said, "We're talking about imagination and the right to imagination, and imagination is central to social change, to imagining new

social relations. I will defend any act of imagination."

Bogin read some of the disputed passages from *The Satanic Verses*. Rushdie's novel was not "an instrument to free the masses," she added, but it was a work of art.

Defense of beleaguered rights

"For working people — from Bombay to Brixton — the central question involved in the Rushdie affair is the need to defend democratic rights at a time when those rights are coming under increasing attack from the capitalist regimes around the world," said SWP spokesperson Margaret Jayko.

The worldwide economic and social crisis of capitalism means that even more attempts to restrict rights are on the agenda, she stressed. The recent massacre and state-of-emergency decree by the new social-democratic administration in Venezuela, and the announcement by President George Bush that Washington would outlaw any attempt by Eastern Airlines strikers to spread their walkout to other sectors of the transportation industry, are examples.

Jayko described the way the British ruling class has seized on the Rushdie events to limit speech and assembly and further its

anti-immigrant campaign.

"The only way we can effectively defend and strengthen civil liberties is by connecting this fight to the struggle of the vast majority of humanity to find a road out of the poverty, repression, and subjugation imposed on us by the imperialist rulers," emphasized Jayko.

"Working people around the world have no interest in supporting censorship laws of any type," she continued, "whether they be alleged anti-pornography laws, laws against so-called hate literature, anti-blasphemy laws, or laws against slandering the socialist state." The main victims of such laws, she said, are always those fighting against exploitation and oppression.

"When workers and farmers begin fighting for our rights," said the SWP representative, "we come into the struggle as a very heterogeneous group. Our ideology is, by and large, that of the ruling classes, not our own, because the ruling classes run things. So we need the broadest democratic rights, the broadest opportunity to discuss ideas, to mobilize and act politically" in order to achieve unity in the struggle against capitalism.

"I think it is wrong," she stressed, "to demand that Rushdie be censored, that he censor himself, that he apologize, or that his work not be reprinted or distributed."

In Britain, Jayko reported, a group of writers, community workers, and others have formed Black Voices in Defense of

Salman Rushdie and *The Satanic Verses*. She quoted their statement:

"We who have experienced forms of racial and cultural discrimination and have engaged with its social effects ... can only deplore the anti-Muslim statements and anti-Third World sentiments that have emerged. ..."

"Equally," the group continued, "we who have experienced the crippling orthodoxies and patriarchalism of our own communities, and have witnessed its attempts to stifle dissent and discussion, can never endorse demands for censorship and unquestioned conformity."

"One issue, above all, has emerged in this discussion," concluded Jayko. "Is there a part of the world, or a sector of the oppressed, who don't need democratic rights, who are incapable of understanding the importance of the broadest possible freedom of speech and political action? I say no."

One of several Iranians who were in the audience stressed during the discussion period that Iran and other predominantly Muslim nations were not united behind Khomeini's stand on Rushdie. He described relatively small crowds of a few thousand that had gathered in Iran to denounce *The Satanic Verses*, comparing this to the hundreds of thousands who turn out there in genuine anti-imperialist protests.

Grenada activists slam ban on books

Continued from front page

plained. "This conference will be an exercise in democracy, an exercise of freedom of speech and expression," he said. "The government has no right to bar people from attending this activity on the basis of their political views."

The MBPM leader said that a box of books brought into the country to Einstein Louison by Pathfinder Director Steve Clark had been seized by the Grenadian government. Louison's books had originally been seized by the government in October 1988 and had been returned to Pathfinder in New York City by air freight in early March 1989.

Another four boxes of books sent Federal Express to Marryshow by Pathfinder were also impounded by Grenada's Ministry of National Security. Among the seized titles intended for display at the conference, Marryshow said, were *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, books by Malcolm X, *Thomas Sankara Speaks*, a book of speeches by imprisoned South African leader Nelson Mandela, and a collection of articles on the Caribbean and Central America edited by Don Rojas, Bishop's former press secretary.

"These books belong to the people of this country," Marryshow said, "and the denial of entry of these books is a denial of the human right of the Grenadian people to read what they choose."

In answer to a question, Marryshow explained that the Grenadian government was not only intent on barring a book of speeches by Nelson Mandela, but it unsuccessfully attempted to bar Themba Ntinga, a representative of the ANC mission to the United Nations, from Grenada in May 1988.

Only after widespread publicity in the region and an outcry by Grenadian airport

workers against Ntinga's exclusion was the Grenadian government forced to allow Ntinga to participate in the MBPM's first convention. At the same time, in May 1988, the government did prevent several other invited guests from the Caribbean from attending the event.

Marryshow invited Pathfinder Director Clark to make a statement and answer questions from the press concerning the exclusion. Clark reported that applications for visa extensions for himself and the three other U.S. participants had been denied. Grenadian immigration official Baptiste told the four that if they over-stayed their visit they would be arrested and deported the following day.

In answer to questions, Clark said it "was unthinkable that the Grenadian government would deny the visas without the full agreement of U.S. officials on the island." While initially agreeing to accompany the four to inquire about the reasons for their visa denials, Clark said, U.S. embassy officials subsequently refused to do so. U.S. Chargé d'affaires James Cooper sought to justify this action by saying that the decision to deny the visas had already been made at the "cabinet level."

Clark reported that Pathfinder had initiated an international protest campaign to demand that the Grenadian government cease its book-banning policies.

He also solidarized with the effort initiated by the MBPM to reverse the Grenadian government's policy on exclusion on political grounds of noncitizens from entering the country.

The press conference was covered by the Caribbean News Agency; Associated Press correspondent Alister Hughes; Radio Antilles; Radio Grenada; a correspondent from the weekly *EC News*, published in Barbados; the *Canadian Tribune*; and the *Militant*.

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWS WEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

March 23, 1979

With the same fervor they displayed in battling the shah, Iranian women have again burst into the streets. The revolution is not over, they declare; women want their full democratic rights.

The sustained mobilizations of women began on March 8, International Women's Day. The tens of thousands of women marching down the streets of Tehran were the largest feminist actions to occur anywhere in the world on International Women's Day.

What sparked the outpouring in Iran was a March 7 statement by Ayatollah Khomeini that female government workers could not go "naked" to work, but "must be clothed according to Islamic standards" — they must wear the *chador*, or veil. The government had also made statements against equal rights for women in divorce, against coeducation, abortion, and laws outlawing polygamy.

Demonstrators on March 10 presented a list of eight demands to the government. These included: women's right to wear whatever clothes they choose; equal rights with men in all legal matters; full economic, political, and social rights for women.

THE MILITANT
Published in the interests of the Working People
March 23, 1964 Price 10¢

NEW YORK — Malcolm X is establish-

ing a Muslim mosque in Harlem that will be so organized as to permit Negroes who are not Muslims to participate in the political, economic, and social programs it will carry on. The mosque will take an active part in the civil rights movement and in the political life of the community, he said.

Elaborating his plans at a packed press conference March 12, he said he was forced to leave the Nation of Islam by other high officials of the church, that he remained a devout Muslim, but would utilize his present situation to join in the Freedom Now struggle in a more direct and flexible way.

He reaffirmed his conviction that Negroes must defend themselves against racist violence, reiterated his willingness to cooperate with all other civil rights organizations for common aims, and said the aid of young people would be enlisted in thinking through an effective black nationalist political action program.

Within the framework of an indictment of the Republicans and Democrats, he was generally indefinite as to what form of political action his group would take.

Asked if he felt either major party had more to offer the Negro than the other one, he answered emphatically, "No. The Negro will never be politically mature as long as he refers to himself as a Republican or Democrat."

In response to questions he indicated that the interracial character of other civil rights groups would not be a barrier to common action. Asked if he would march on a picket line with whites, he responded: "We will cooperate with other civil rights groups to whatever extent and in whatever way it is necessary to accomplish our goals."

'Enough is enough'

The strike by 8,500 machinists at Eastern Airlines has struck a deep chord among working people throughout the country. Thousands of unionists — from garment workers to pipe fitters to teachers — have turned out for picket lines and strike support rallies from one end of the country to the other. The spirit at these events is high. The outpouring of solidarity that has already been mobilized shows that millions of workers want to get behind the Eastern strikers and help them win.

Unity of the workers at Eastern is the foundation for the strike's strength, starting with the unity of the Machinists themselves, who voted by a 97 percent margin to go on strike and who have remained out virtually to a person.

The Machinists in turn won solid support from the other unions at Eastern. With pilots and flight attendants — who also have been victims of Eastern's antiunion drive — honoring the picket lines, less than 10 percent of Eastern's usual number of flights are getting into the air.

Airline workers from other carriers are also on the Eastern picket lines in large numbers. Many explain that from too many failed strikes and broken unions in the airline industry they have learned the lesson that the unions have to back each other up.

Union power has successfully paralyzed the airline — an event that Eastern's owners, other capitalists, and the government were completely unprepared for.

After years of attacks by the capitalists against their wages, working conditions, and rights, many working people — both organized and unorganized — are ready to draw the line. "Enough is enough" is a comment heard frequently on the Eastern picket lines: enough of giving concessions without a fight, enough of strikes that don't win, enough of being forced to swallow whatever abuse and indignity the boss dishes out. "Don't thank me for coming," one United Air Lines pilot told Eastern pickets

in Washington, D.C. "Thank you for being out here for all of us. If Lorenzo breaks you, we are next. This is what they want to do to all workers."

The decision by the Eastern strikers to stand up and fight has tapped into a deep anger that has built up for years among millions of workers. This has been fueled by cuts in real income, speedup, increasing health and safety hazards on the job, environmental pollution, and deterioration of the transportation system. The anger that has been accumulating is the basis for the broad solidarity the strike is already winning.

Other unionists, unorganized workers, farmers, students, Black and Latino rights organizations, unemployed workers, fighters for women's rights, young people, community groups, political activists, and others are eager to get behind the strike. Strikers in New York and Detroit have organized committees to begin reaching out for support. In Newark, other unions are volunteering to take shifts on the picket lines. Some workers are coming on their own to the strike offices and picket lines, asking how they can help.

The Machinists went on strike after being tied up in government red tape for months. Court injunctions are blocking them from extending picket lines to the railroads. Today, Eastern management is trying to weaken the unions by maneuvering in bankruptcy court.

Meanwhile, the House of Representatives has voted to direct the president to set up an emergency board to negotiate an agreement in 14 days. The directive, which would order the strikers back to work, has now gone to the Senate for approval. President Bush, who hopes Eastern will break the strike directly, has vowed to veto it.

The Machinists' decision to strike cut through some of the obstacles thrown in their path. Solidarity, unity, and reliance on their own power — it is along this road that the Eastern strikers can win.

Drug trade and death penalty

Under the guise of stepping up the fight against drug trafficking, government officials at all levels are pressing for greater use of the death penalty.

Congress approved drug legislation last year that included a provision for imposing capital punishment for murder committed in relation to drug trafficking. On March 6 the New York State Assembly approved a bill reinstating the death penalty by a wide margin. The vote fell only one shy of the number needed to override an expected veto by Gov. Mario Cuomo. A major drive is now under way to get the necessary two-thirds majority to defeat the veto.

Democratic and Republican politicians have emphasized incidents in which cops have been killed in drug-related cases as the reason the death penalty is needed in such instances. Speaking in New York before a conference of Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) agents and mayors of cities from many countries, President George Bush called for a mandatory federal death penalty for murder of any police officer.

There were 2,188 prisoners on death row at the start of this year. California, Florida, and Texas have more than 200 each. Since the U.S. Supreme Court reinstated state death penalty laws in 1976, a total of 106 people have been executed.

The "war on drugs" is also being used to beef up repressive laws and expand police forces.

William Bennett, head of the newly created Office of National Drug Control Policy, has announced plans to make Washington, D.C., a "test case" by declaring the

capital city a "high-intensity" drug area. Bennett said he is considering asking that FBI and DEA agents and U.S. military forces be deployed in the city.

Some police officials have opposed the use of troops, saying their presence might ignite revolts in Black communities such as occurred in the 1960s. Blacks make up the overwhelming majority of residents of Washington, D.C. But the Defense Department has tentatively approved a plan to deploy National Guard helicopters and night vision and infrared radar equipment in joint operations with the city's police.

Military advisers who would be involved in planning any deployment of troops in Washington argue that broad curfews would be needed to clear street activity altogether at night. The troops would have to carry loaded weapons at all times, they argue.

In an interview with the *New York Times*, Francis Hall, former head of the New York City police narcotics division, asserted that the fight against drug trafficking requires use of imprisonment on a more massive scale. "Camp-type" prisons are needed, he said.

The moves to step up the use of the death penalty and to strengthen repressive laws have nothing to do with fighting drug trafficking. In fact, many cops are up to their eyeballs in the drug trade, a lucrative business that exploits the capitalist-imposed misery of working people.

The aim of the death penalty and stiffer legislation is to intimidate working people, especially Black, Latino, and Asian workers — the main victims of the drug trade.

No aid, no bases for contras

In arrogant defiance of the agreement by five Central American presidents to dismantle the bases of the contra units, the U.S. State Department is pressing the Honduran government to continue to play host to them. Honduran President José Azcona Hoyo was one of the signers of the pact.

And on March 14, White House media spokesperson Marlin Fitzwater affirmed that President George Bush was considering asking Congress for \$40 to \$50 million for the U.S.-organized bands.

These moves are aimed at keeping a degree of military pressure on Nicaragua in the wake of the defeat of the U.S.-organized contra war. They are an act of aggression against Nicaragua and a blatant violation of that country's right to self-determination.

At Washington's insistence, the Honduran government had effectively given the Pentagon sovereignty over a strip of its territory. The Pentagon had used it as a base for contra military attacks on Nicaragua. Thousands of

Nicaraguans were killed in this war.

Washington's actions trampled on the sovereign rights of the people of Honduras, who have made it clear that they want to be rid of the contra bands. With the mercenaries decisively defeated and in disarray, the Honduran government signed the February 14 agreement to close the camps. So did the presidents of Nicaragua, Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Guatemala.

The U.S. moves followed Secretary of State James Baker's promise to Congress that the administration would use "carrots and sticks, incentives and disincentives" to keep a squeeze on Nicaragua.

All U.S. assistance to the contras — whether food or guns — should end now. The contra bases should be dismantled and the mercenaries removed from Honduran territory.

Washington should lift the embargo on trade with Nicaragua and provide large-scale aid to repair the damage caused by the war and the decades of U.S. domination that preceded it.

Why workers should oppose censorship

BY DOUG JENNESS

People's Daily World columnist Tom Foley has entered the debate sparked by the attacks on novelist Salman Rushdie by defending censorship. (See article on facing page.) This is unfortunate, because the capitalist rulers, especially in Britain, have seized on the situation to beef up undemocratic restrictions and repressive measures against working people.

Foley says he doesn't condone the extreme step of murder as a form of censorship. But he isn't "one of those

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

who think that there are no reasons for banning books."

He cites, for example, what he considers to be the positive action of governments that have banned *Mein Kampf*, written by German Nazi leader Adolf Hitler in the 1920s.

Foley clearly thinks this ban should be extended and praises "the Soviet Union and several other socialist countries" that "legally prohibit any form of propaganda for war, racism, anti-Semitism, and/or ethnic hatred." They'll toss you in jail if you violate this prohibition, he acclaims.

If working people were to follow Foley's advice and demand more government censorship, the result would be many unnecessary obstacles to the struggle against exploitation and oppression.

Experience has proved that when capitalist governments restrict democratic rights on the pretext of going after Nazis, the Ku Klux Klan, or any other reactionary outfit, they are laying the basis for suppressing the rights of the working-class movement. Just as sure as the sun rises in the East, they will attempt to use a few attacks on the right-wing to show they are "even-handed" when they go after workers' organizations. This helps sow confusion in the working class.

Foley says he respects the argument that "if you allow even one book to be banned, this is the entering wedge for banning others." But it's not weighty enough, he contends, to override the consequences of permitting reactionary literature from being disseminated. He cites the deaths of 55 million people during World War II as his clinching example.

The *People's Daily World* columnist is way off the track here. It was not reactionary ideas that caused the rise of fascism. The responsibility lay with the crisis of capitalism, which inevitably led to political polarization, and with the failure of the leadership of the mass working-class parties to chart a course for taking political power.

It was the sharpened conflict between the ruling families in the capitalist powers over domination of markets, raw materials, and investment opportunities — not the propagation of fascist literature that led to the second world imperialist slaughter. Reactionary ideas are generated by reactionary movements and social classes — not the other way around.

Clamping down on the distribution of reactionary literature — did not and could not have prevented Hitler in Germany or Mussolini in Italy from coming to power. This could only have been done with the development of a mass revolutionary workers' movement with the self-confidence, political understanding, and unity necessary to wrest political power out of the hands of the capitalist rulers.

Banning literature is a hindrance, not an aid, to building this kind of movement. In order to clarify their strategy and tactics and win more support, working people must study closely the arguments their enemies use. This requires access to reactionary writings and the opportunity to present clear and convincing answers.

Workers and their potential allies among farmers and small businesspeople are profoundly influenced by ruling-class opinion and ideology. We don't automatically understand that politics in our society is based on conflicting class interests. This makes many susceptible to various reactionary nostrums, especially if, in times of social crisis, they are presented as "radical" alternatives.

For working-class leaders to dismiss the political effects of this propaganda or to try to suppress it permits reactionary forces to go unanswered. This can only help them increase their influence.

Foley doesn't offer any explanation for his defense of censorship in the Soviet Union. In that country the bureaucratic caste bans writings that are deemed "slanders against the state." And this goes way beyond the categories Foley names. It includes the writings of dissident novelists, as well as those of prominent leaders of the October 1917 Russian revolution and the Communist International.

Working people should oppose censorship there for the same reasons that they should be against it in capitalist countries: censorship creates obstacles to the working people's fight to advance toward socialism.

'Team concept' at McDonnell Douglas weakens union

BY JEAN SAVAGE
AND BOB CUSTER

McDonnell Douglas Aircraft Co. in Long Beach, California, has initiated an "Employee Involvement" program designed to speed up production and weaken our union, United Auto Workers Local 148. Workers are being told that it is our job to weed out the "bad apples" and "nonproductive" workers to enable the company to compete more effectively with Boeing and Airbus, a European aircraft company.

In a recent "Team Talks" newsletter, the company explains, "With the implementation of the team concept, currently being initiated in Department 509, management

on trial demanded the presence of their elected shop steward rather than the appointed union "facilitators." One trial failed to come off when workers objected to management's attempt to have a team leader solicit white workers to vote a Black woman off the crew.

With their trial plans stymied, the company decided to try another method of attack. Management drew up a list entitled "Department 509 Expendables," which targeted 27 workers. This action was exposed last November when shop steward Wilbert Sonnier obtained a copy of the list. He immediately brought this information to the membership and filed grievances on behalf of these workers.

The company cited Sonnier for violating Rule 34 — "restricting production." They allege he spoke to workers about the list during company time.

McDonnell Douglas management is out to convince workers that the union itself is unnecessary. They are trying to establish a relationship between workers and bosses in which the team, or individual workers, discusses "work problems" directly with supervisors. This, they hope, will eliminate the need for shop stewards, contract protections, and the right to file grievances.

McDonnell Douglas points with pride to their "team concept" model: the UAW-organized NUMMI plant (jointly owned by Toyota and General Motors) in Fremont, California. Fewer workers there are producing more cars, and draconian attendance policies keep the absence rate exceedingly low.

The "team concept" is now being implemented throughout McDonnell Douglas, affecting the 14,000 UAW members who work here. Each work crew is di-

vided into "teams" of about 10 workers, and team leaders are elected. While some workers have refused to run or vote for team leader, other union activists opposed to the team concept have tried to vote in the best union activists or the person considered least likely to be a snitch. Many team leaders have resigned their positions due to company pressure on them to push the crew to produce more.

Unfortunately, the institution of the team concept here has been spearheaded by the UAW International, and local union officials. Local 148 President Doug Griffith has appointed numerous "facilitators" to coordinate the team concept with workers and management, undermining the role of the elected shop stewards. This has created a layer of appointed union officials responsible only to the union president.

At a meeting organized by the company last April, Griffith explained how the team concept was supposed to benefit the membership.

In exchange for a higher productivity rate, workers were promised that they would be rewarded with job security and some form of profit-sharing.

The promise of job security is utopian — especially when the next economic downturn hits. And profit-sharing is simply a bribe to get us to accept the team concept.

Many workers in the plant are opposed to the team concept. Workers will continue to discuss how to fight the company's union-busting policies as this program is expanded to the rest of the plant.

Jean Savage works as a structural mechanic in Department 509 and Bob Custer works as a structural mechanic in Department 505. Both are members of UAW Local 148.

UNION TALK

is giving up their role of policing the employees. . . . When employees are identified as being production constraints, the team must take action to resolve the issue."

Since the team concept was begun as an experiment among 650 workers nearly eight months ago, at least two trial-type "team meetings" were held, initiated by bosses and team leaders. Their stated aim was to vote a "non-productive" worker off the crew.

No one has so far been voted off any of the crews. The majority of workers have realized that team meetings (which include bosses) are organized as snitch sessions and can only lead to a breakdown of worker solidarity.

Some workers responded to these trials by refusing to participate; others protested and walked out. The workers

LETTERS

Athletic scholarships

Former tennis-pro Arthur Ashe gave support to the National Collegiate Athletic Association's Proposition 42 in his February 10 *New York Times* op-ed "Coddling Black Athletes."

Proposition 42 will deny collegiate athletic scholarships to any high school student with a grade-

point average below 2.0 or combined Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) score under 700.

Opponents of Proposition 42 correctly point out that academic tests are culturally biased and that the rule will discriminate against minority athletes.

Ashe writes, "It is conceivable that some college administrators

see Proposition 42 as a convenient cover for a racist policy of reducing the numbers of Black athletes who receive scholarships."

But Ashe says that Proposition 42 "would motivate high school coaches and their best players to take education seriously."

I think that Black athletes take education seriously. But like all

minority students, they face decades of discrimination and racism.

Ashe writes, "Streetwise ninth and 10th graders and their coaches would get the message that the free rides are over."

Free rides? Today's ninth and 10th graders were born the year that an effigy of a school bus was burned during the busing struggle — at a South Boston-East Boston football game at halftime.

Fifteen years later, it is ludicrous to think that minority students, including athletes, have "equal educational opportunities," much less "free rides."

Increased discrimination against minority athletes is one more weapon in the hands of an education system that is, and will be, racist by design under capitalism. A college education should be the right of every student, worker, and farmer, regardless of race, sex, nationality, age, income, or SAT scores.

*Janet Post
Portland, Oregon*

Steelworkers

Allegheny Ludlum, a specialty steel producer, was so profitable last year it rewarded its 5,500 employees with an unscheduled bonus averaging \$1,000. Recently, hundreds of these steelworkers picketed its Brackenridge, Pennsylvania, mill, protesting massive amounts of forced overtime and reprimands given to maintenance workers over the Christmas holidays.

The protest grew out of the company's use of 80-hour workweeks to undermine an arbitration ruling limiting the use of outside contractors. Managers informed United Steelworkers Local 1196 officers that maintenance workers would be scheduled for 12-hour shifts during a Christmas shutdown and rebuild of the hot strip mill.

The maintenance department and the local had agreed to work all necessary overtime to keep outside contractors out of the mill.

However, anger began to build when workers found their work schedules averaged more than 80 hours a week.

Union officers estimated that from 300 to 400 of the mill's 1,800 workers took part in a protest.

In media interviews, Chuck Meredith, Local 1196 president, reiterated the local's demand that the company hire more workers. He appealed to the community for support. "The company doesn't

want to hire new people," Meredith explained. "Overtime is cheaper. They don't have to vest pensions. They don't have to pay the insurance policy."

*Clare Fraenzl
Michael Pennock
Brackenridge, Pennsylvania*

Another commodity

Washington is busy selling the idea that what is good for the wealthy ruling class is good for the workers.

As the capitalists start to reach the panic stage over the coming world economic crisis it's worth remembering that at no time have they held any interest in the worker except as another commodity. Workers in the near future will suffer greatly as the capitalists become even more cruel.

If you're a worker or unemployed your allegiance should be with other workers, not the capitalists who would view your very death only as a detriment to production.

*John-Michael Eggertsen
Salt Lake City, Utah*

Pennsylvania miners

The Canterbury Coal Co. announced it had received an unconditional offer to return to work from United Mine Workers locals 2456 and 6986, District 5. The locals represent about 170 miners in southwestern Pennsylvania.

The workers have been on strike since Aug. 5, 1985, when Canterbury announced arbitrary changes in safety rules and seniority rights and the elimination of the union's pension plan.

Canterbury Controller DiAnne Boarts said that even if the owners of the DiAnne and David deep mines accept the union's offer, it doesn't mean the miners will get their jobs back. They will have to wait for vacancies in the 115-strong work force of supervisors, nonunion replacements, and the six union miners who crossed the picket line.

*Clare Fraenzl
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania*

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

'People's Daily World' on censorship

The following article appeared in the February 24 issue of the *People's Daily World*, which reflects the views of the Communist Party of the United States. An answer to Foley appears on the facing page of this issue of the *Militant*.

BY TOM FOLEY

Murder is not a permissible form of censorship. The action of the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini in calling for the murder of Ahmed Salman Rushdie, author of the novel, *The Satanic Verses*, is completely illegal under international, secular and Muslim law.

I am glad to see that a small number of people are beginning, hesitantly, to stand up for Rushdie. The Author's Guild (AG) and the National Writers' Union (NWU) are appealing to President George Bush publicly to condemn the Ayatollah's threats.

Bush and his administration only a few days earlier publicly and enthusiastically announced they were going to continue sending huge amounts of arms and ammunition to the Afghan contras — fanatics who make Khomeini look like a bleeding-heart liberal by comparison.

I would suggest also to the AG and NWU that in addition, being a good Texas oilman, President Bush undoubtedly has noticed that Saudi Arabia has banned Rushdie's book. A regime that tries to give the appearance of being entirely composed of fanatics — despite all the Scotch whiskey some of its members are said to guzzle — a regime that chops off the hands of thieves and has publicly decapitated one of its own princes-

ses for alleged moral wrongdoing, is almost never criticized in the capitalist mass media. Reason: money.

Finally, the Reagan-Bush administration was involved up to its ears in sending arms to the regime headed by the Ayatollah and gang of fanatics (arms from the "Great Satan" to fight a "holy war"?). Rushdie is threatened with death by means of these arms.

Let me state that personally I am not one of those who think that there are no reasons for banning books. There are good reasons why in several countries in Western Europe as well as in all European socialist countries, the book *Mein Kampf* by Adolf Hitler is banned. The Soviet Union and several other socialist countries legally prohibit any form of propaganda for war, racism, anti-Semitism and/or ethnic hatred and provide prison terms for those found guilty of this.

The basic object of such laws of course is to preserve human life and dignity. I respect the approach of those who say that if you allow even one book to be banned, this is the entering wedge for banning others. Considering the nature of our government, people have a great deal of weight on their side who say this. It does not equal the weight of the 55 million people who died in World War II, however.

But we are discussing whether anyone has the right to murder, or to order the murder, of an author who writes what many consider a bad book. The answer is no, without qualification. The fact that a head of state did this is utterly revolting. And when George Bush, when as

CIA director or president, orders the killing of some defender of the poor in El Salvador or where have you, it is still murder and will someday be punished.

What comes to my mind is a book that had a great impact on my life: *Fahrenheit 451*, by the American science-fiction writer Ray Bradbury. It is a book about a future society where all books are banned, where groups of "firemen" are entrusted with the job of finding and burning books, and where one such "fireman" becomes curious and starts reading some of them secretly one day.

It is a magnificent book. It came out at the height (or depth) of the McCarthy era and became a kind of moral rallying point for many of us. What if somebody at that time had called for killing Bradbury? Such things were by no means unthinkable, I shudder to recall.

It strikes me that Khomeini's call for Rushdie's murder and my fictitious example of a call for Bradbury's murder are one and the same thing. It would have been necessary then, as it is now, to stand up in defense of the writer — not because he is a writer, but because he is a human being. *Fahrenheit 451* is the temperature at which book paper burns. Human life can be snuffed out at a much lower temperature and, in a certain sense, is much more fragile than book paper. Our job is to preserve it, to defend not only Rushdie, but the thousands now in the Ayatollah's prisons living in the shadow of death.

As for Khomeini, he is neither the shadow of God on earth nor the scourge of God, as Genghis Khan once claimed to be. He must answer for his crimes.

Unions back abortion rights march

BY SUSAN LaMONT

Building for the national March for Women's Equality/Women's Lives, to be held in Washington, D.C., April 9, is picking up momentum around the country. The action, called by the National Organization for Women and endorsed by more than 175 national organizations, will focus on defending the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion in the United States.

The April 9 march is winning the backing of a growing number of trade unions — more than any previous national abortion rights demonstration.

Nationally, the United Steelworkers of America, United Electrical Workers, Association of Flight Attendants, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, National Education Association, and Utility Workers Union have endorsed the march, along with the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

The Minnesota State AFL-CIO is also backing the demonstration. On February 24 Ben Gustafson, president of the labor body, sent out a letter to 1,300 trade union locals in the state. "For this march to be truly the voice of the people," Gustafson said, "your participation is needed. We are asking for your support either by endorsement, by financial contribution to the march, or by encouraging your members to participate."

In New York, a Labor Coalition for April 9th has been formed.

"California expects to put more than 10,000 marchers on air flights going East," reported NOW President Molly Yard. Supporters of abortion rights from Arizona have chartered a bus. More than 100 buses have been reserved in the Philadelphia area. And more than 50 are planned from New Jersey. Groups on some 250 campuses are also organizing to bring people to the march, the NOW leader added.

Abortion rights activists in Portland, Oregon, and Seattle report that march organizers in both cities expect to send delegations of about 100 to Washington, D.C.

Yard also reported that international delegations are expected at the demonstration from France, Germany, Norway, Canada, Italy, Brazil, Sweden, South Africa, Namibia, Japan, and other countries.

The "Editor's Essay" in the April issue of *Ms.* magazine urges readers to attend the demonstration.

"I cannot stress strongly enough," says editor Anne Summers, "that never was there a more important time to let the pow-

ers-that-be in Washington know that we, the majority on this issue as polls since 1975 have shown, will be silent no longer. The antiabortion forces, especially Operation Rescue, have been grabbing headlines and making it appear that they represent the majority opinion. We know that they are nothing but a ferocious minority. But does President Bush know this? Does Justice Sandra Day O'Connor? It's up to us to make sure they do."

In Los Angeles abortion rights supporters are kicking off a week of activities with a March 19 rally at California State University at Long Beach. The actions, initiated by the Pro-Choice Coalition, were called in response to the planned harassment of abortion clinics by the antiabortion disruption outfit Operation Rescue during that week.

A demonstration to "Keep abortion safe, legal, and accessible" is also planned for April 2 in San Francisco. The local action is endorsed by CLUW, Planned Parenthood, NOW, the American Civil Liberties Union, California Teachers Association, and other groups.



Militant/Sam Manuel

New York Labor Coalition for April 9 formed

BY VIVIAN SAHNER

NEW YORK — Representatives from a number of unions gathered March 13 at Communications Workers of America District 1's headquarters here for a labor breakfast to discuss participation in the March for Women's Equality/Women's Lives. The national demonstration in defense of abortion rights will take place in Washington, D.C., April 9.

This was the third breakfast in a series organized to discuss the importance of legal abortion for working women. Representatives from 15 unions have attended these events, and formed the Labor Coalition for April 9th.

"New York unions are marching to defend women's rights," explains a leaflet issued by the coalition. "Women's rights are labor's concern. The same forces that are attacking our reproductive rights are attacking our unions. The 'Right to Work' union busters and the 'Right to Life' organizations get their money from the same

sources and are both part of pushing working people down."

Among those attending the March 13 labor breakfast were several members of International Association of Machinists Local 1018, representing machinists from LaGuardia Airport. They gave an update on their strike against Eastern Airlines.

The Communications Workers has become more active in defending abortion rights since last December when the Manhattan Planned Parenthood clinic was physically attacked by the antiabortion outfit Operation Rescue. Workers at the clinic won the right to be represented by the CWA last September.

At the breakfast, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union representatives announced their union's plans to send 10 buses from New York to the Washington, D.C., march. The ILGWU is one of the national endorsers of the action.

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 37 is also planning to send 10 buses. The CWA is organizing to fill several buses, and Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 400 announced plans to send one.

Several union representatives reported that their locals haven't discussed abortion rights before, and building the upcoming

march provides an important opportunity for an educational discussion on the issue.

At the February 27 labor breakfast, a representative of the Center for Constitutional Rights had explained how further restrictions on abortion rights would have a devastating impact on working women, especially the poorest. Since the passage of the Hyde Amendment in 1976, which cut off federal Medicaid funds for abortions, abortion has become less and less accessible. This has resulted in the deaths of poor women who have attempted self-induced abortions or who have gone to substandard clinics.

"Health care for poor working people in New York City has already reached crisis proportions," commented CWA member Trish Feely after the March 13 breakfast. Feely works at the Planned Parenthood clinic.

"At least two women in the city have died after going to these fly-by-night abortion clinics that have cropped up," she explained. "Another woman was rushed hemorrhaging to a hospital after paying for her botched abortion with a gold chain. We not only have to protect the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, we have to win back the right for all women to have access to safe abortion procedures."

Sinn Féin conference plans anticensorship fight

BY CLIVE TURNBULL

DUBLIN, Ireland — "Censored" proclaimed a banner dominating the platform at the recent Sinn Féin *Ard Fheis* (national conference). Sinn Féin is an organization that fights for a united, independent Ireland free of British military occupation and domination.

The banner highlighted the British government's banning of Sinn Féin representatives from television and radio. Mobilizing opposition to censorship was a theme of the conference.

"In introducing the ban the British government is attempting to hide the facts of their dirty war in the north of Ireland from the British people," stated Danny Morrison, director of publicity for Sinn Féin.

"It is not a coincidence," Morrison said, "that the ban was introduced at a time when at least two dozen [television] programs are being prepared to mark the 20th anniversary of British troops arriving on the streets of Belfast."

Mother Ireland, a television film commissioned by Channel 4 in Britain, was banned because it contained an interview with Mairead Farrell, who was killed in

Gibraltar in an ambush carried out by British troops.

"Streets of Sorrow/Birmingham Six," a song by the Pogues, a popular Irish band, was banned because its lyrics cite the imprisoned Guildford Four and Birmingham Six as frame-up victims.

In the Republic of Ireland, the 26 southern counties, that won formal independence from Britain in 1922, Sinn Féin representatives have been banned from television and radio since 1976.

The conference discussed other attacks on democratic rights as well. Last November, for example, the British government was condemned for the 21st time by the European Court of Human Rights. In this instance, the government had unlawfully detained four Irish people from four to six days under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. In December the government said it would not comply with the ruling.

The British Parliament is considering new legislation for Northern Ireland, the six counties of Ireland ruled by the British government and occupied by its troops. The laws would require electoral candi-

dates to swear opposition to terrorism.

The intention is to exclude Sinn Féin candidates from the polls, where they have won more than 40 percent of the vote in nationalist communities and 13 percent of the total vote in Northern Ireland. Fifty-eight Sinn Féin candidates were elected as local councillors, and Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams was chosen to be member of Parliament for West Belfast.

Sinn Féin Chairperson Sean McManus denounced the British government, which "ordered the sinking of the *Belgrano* and backed the bombing of civilian targets in Libya," for hypocrisy concerning the so-called "antiviolence oath."

The conference voted unanimously that candidates would take the oath.

Last December, the British government restricted the right to silence during police questioning in Northern Ireland. The courts may now treat a defendant's silence in police custody as evidence of guilt.

This new rule was used in gaining the recent conviction of Robert Russell, who escaped during a 1983 break-out of prisoners in the Long Kesh H-Blocks. Russell was captured in the Republic of Ireland and ex-

tradited to the north. He was sentenced to serve five years in prison at the end of the 20-year sentence he had received in 1982.

Solidarity with the 700 Irish Republican prisoners held by the British government was stressed at the Sinn Féin meeting.

The organization's national committee proposed that Sinn Féin adopt "in principle the need for an all-Ireland anti-imperialist mass movement," often referred to as a "broad front."

The conference was held January 27-29 in the Mansion House, where the first Irish assembly had been held on Jan. 21, 1919. In his presidential address, Gerry Adams explained that since 1919, "one and a quarter million Irish citizens from the 26 counties have been forced to emigrate — one in every two persons born here since 1919."

Unemployment in the Irish republic today stands at 19 percent of the working population.

Sean McManus denounced the collaboration of the government of Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey with the British rulers. He pointed out that the Irish government spends \$1.7 million per day policing a border that Haughey himself doesn't recognize as legitimate.